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8 June 1983

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BRIEFS

OMAN, YAR CULTURAL AGREEMENT--An information and cultural agreement between Oman and the YAR was signed in San'a' today. The agreement was signed on the Oman side by Information and Youth Affairs Minister 'Abd al-'Aziz ar-Rawwas and on the YAR side by Information and Culture Minister Hasan Ahmad al-Lawzi. The agreement provides for the development of information and cultural cooperation in the fields of broadcasting, television, printing, publication and tourism. [Text] [GF241543 Doha QNA in Arabic 1435 GMT 24 May 83]

CSO: 4400/331

JUSTICE COMMANDOS APPEAL TO YUGOSLAV PEOPLE, GOVERNMENT

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 23 Apr 83 p 5

[Text] [Editor's note] The editors have received in the mail a communique in French sent by the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide [JCAG] to the press. The communique refers to a letter sent by the JCAG to the Yugoslav authorities after the terrorist attack on the Turkish ambassador in Belgrade.

Below we present the translation of the full text of the communique.

Turkish Ambassador to Yugoslavia Galip Balkar, who was shot by the JCAG in Belgrade on 9 March 1983, died on 11 March 1983. In the confusion that followed the assassination attempt, an innocent Yugoslav citizen was killed and a few others were wounded. Two fighters of the Armenian cause, Harutyun Levonian and Raffi Elbekian, were arrested, one of them seriously wounded, by the Yugoslav police.

We, the JCAG, appeal to you, the peoples of Yugoslavia and your government. We do that not only because you have a right to know the reasons behind the assassination attempt that caused the shedding of blood in your capital city, but also because you are capable of understanding those reasons as pioneers in the liberation struggles of peoples and nations.

Although you were deprived of your homeland, you were poor, conquered and humiliated only yesterday, you raised the banner of rebellion at the turn of the 19th century. You showed to the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire, including us, the Armenians, that the path to liberty passes through armed struggle. Your struggle has served as an example for our people and as a blueprint for the national liberation struggles of the Third World. At the turn of this century, when the Macedonian and Armenian questions were sitting on the tables of European diplomats, Macedonian and Armenian revolutionaries joined forces against the Turks. During World War II, your sacrifices and your heroic resistance against the Nazi invaders made possible the liberation of your homeland for a second time and the victory of a socialist government system. Then, by refusing to commit yourselves to either Moscow or Washington you consolidated your national independence.

The historical conditions and the geographical position of Armenia did not permit the Armenian people to achieve the same success. In 1915, half the Armenian nation was uprooted from its homeland and massacred. With this

genocide, which was committed in cold blood during World War I, the Young Turk government hoped to eliminate the bases of Armenian claims. The Kemalist movement completed what was started by the Young Turks; it not only prevented the creation of an Armenian national homeland in Asia Minor where the survivors of the genocide could freely exercise their right of self-determination, but it also established an intolerantly nationalistic Turkish state where ethnic minorities--such as Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Assyrians, the Laz etc.--had no place.

From Kemal to Evren, all Turkish governments have pursued the same policy of denying the Armenian genocide and the historical rights of the Armenian people over their homeland, Armenia. From Kemal to Evren, no Turkish government has admitted to the existence of an Armenian question and, of course, the need for negotiations on that issue. Turkey's strategic importance in the Atlantic Alliance strengthens the position of the Turkish government. Encouraged by the military and economic assistance provided by the United States and the good will shown by the Soviet Union, the Turkish military regime is violating human rights and is drowning every freedom in Turkey.

The Armenian nation, exiled from its homeland and dispersed to the four corners of the world, has always hoped that the great powers, the League of Nations or the United Nations would find a negotiated solution to its problem. But the only solution that was offered to this nation that is determined to preserve its national existence and that highly values its historical and cultural heritage was forgetting the genocide and assimilation.

We could not remain onlookers in the face of this situation that threatened the future and the existence of our nation. For decades, we were denied the means of shaping and defending our demands, and we were forced to impose upon the world public opinion an awareness about the gravity of the Armenian question.

In October 1975, we, the JCAG, assassinated for the first time the Turkish ambassadors in Vienna and Paris. From 1975 through 1983, our operations against Turkish diplomats continued without interruption. We are striking against the Turkish government in the persons of these diplomats who represent that government in the countries they are in. Thus, the state of international relations is forcing the Armenian nation to wage a national struggle on an international and worldwide basis.

The tactics of our struggle are shaped by the following goals:

- a) To expose in its most negative form the stance of the Turkish government toward the Armenian genocide, the rights of the Armenian people as well as the rights of the other peoples of Turkey to gain control of their own destiny.
- b) To force the Turkish public opinion to pressure the Turkish government to start a dialog with the Armenian nation which is a precondition for halting our attacks.
- c) To combine our claims with the struggle of other oppressed minorities in Turkey.

d) To show to the world public that appeasing a government as immoral as that of Turkey can in no way bring about a policy of stability in the Middle East.

e) To pressure the governments of nonaligned nations to give thought to our cause and to interject on our behalf with the American and Soviet blocs.

In order [to generate sympathy], the essential capital for the realization of our goals, we will:

a) Wage our struggle only within the framework of the conflict between the Armenian people and the Turkish government.

b) Paralyze Turkish diplomacy by striking against it at the highest levels; avoid hurting individuals who are not linked or only indirectly linked with the Turkish government; avoid at any cost giving a racist color to our struggle.

c) Strike against the Turkish economy; halt the economic assistance Turkey receives from both the NATO countries and the Soviet Union.

d) Continue our work persistently; win and consolidate the sympathy and the support of the Armenian public and the Armenian political parties.

e) Pressure the Turkish government to return to the Armenian people its traditional homeland which it is occupying.

Harutyun Levonian and Raffi Elbekian are the ununiformed soldiers of an army and a people who do not have a homeland today. On behalf of the Armenian people and its legitimate struggle aimed at establishing an independent existence on a reconquered homeland, we ask the justice system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to consider them not as criminals or terrorists but as the fighters of a struggling nation.

[Signed] Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide

9588

CSO: 4605/70

JUSTICE COMMANDOS ANNOUNCE TACTICS, AIMS OF STRUGGLE

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 20 Apr 83 pp 1,2

["Communique of the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide to the peoples of Yugoslavia and the government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]

[Text] Turkish Ambassador to Yugoslavia Galip Balkar, who was attacked by the Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide [JCAG] on 9 March 1983, died of his wounds on 11 March. In the chaos that resulted from the attack, there were a number of innocent victims including a Yugoslav citizen who died and a number of others who were wounded. Two fighters of the Armenian cause, Harutyun Levonian and Raffi Elpekian, one of whom was seriously wounded, were arrested by the Yugoslav police.

We, the JCAG, address ourselves to you, the peoples of Yugoslavia and your government, not only because you have a right to know the causes of the act that shed blood in your capital, but also because you are capable of understanding those causes as a country that has been a pioneer in the liberation of peoples and nations.

Although you were vassals, under occupation, conquered and oppressed until yesterday, you raised the banner of rebellion early in the 19th century. You showed to the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire, including the Armenian people, that the path to liberty passes through armed struggle. Your struggles, which shaped the national liberation struggles of the Third World, set an example for our people. At the turn of this century, when the Macedonian [Balkan] question and the Armenian question kept the European diplomats busy, Armenian and Macedonian revolutionaries joined forces against Turkey. During World War II, your sacrifices and your heroic resistance against the invading Nazis allowed you to liberate your homeland for a second time and to crown the socialist system with victory. By refusing to ally yourselves with either Moscow or Washington, you have established your national independence.

Armenia's historic conditions and its geographical position have not allowed the Armenian people to achieve the same result. In 1915, half the Armenian nation was subjected to forced migration and massacre. With this genocide, executed in cold blood during World War I, the Young Turk government hoped to eliminate the bases of the claims of the Armenian nation. Kemalism completed the work started by the Young Turks. Kemalism not only prevented the creation of an Armenian national center in Asia Minor where the survivors of the genocide could

freely decide their fate, but it also turned Turkey into a fiercely nationalistic and Turkish state where racial minorities (such as Kurds, Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Assyrians, the Laz, etcetera) had no place.

From Kemal to General Evren, all Turkish governments have implemented the same policy of denying the Armenian genocide and the historic rights of the Armenian people to its homeland, Armenia. From Kemal to General Evren, not a single Turkish government has accepted the existence of an Armenian question or agreed to even negotiate about it. Turkey's importance in NATO strengthens the position of its government. The military regime in Turkey, supported militarily and economically by the United States and courted by the Soviet Union, is making a mockery of human rights and suppressing all freedoms in Turkey.

Expelled from their homeland and dispersed to the four corners of the world, the Armenians hoped that the big powers, the League of Nations and the United Nations would find a peaceful and negotiated solution to their problem.

A nation which is determined to survive as a nation and which is strongly tied to its historic and cultural heritage is being offered no alternative other than forgetting the genocide and assimilating.

We cannot remain passive in the face of this situation which is threatening the existence and the future of our nation. The means of shaping and defending our demands were taken away from us through the decades, and it was necessary to impose upon world public opinion an awareness about the gravity of the Armenian question.

In October 1975, we, the JCAG, assassinated the Turkish ambassadors in Vienna and Paris in our first terrorist acts. Since then and until today, our acts against Turkish diplomats have not ended. By attacking these diplomats, who are the representatives of their government in the countries they are sent to, we are striking against the Turkish government.

Thus, the logic of international relations is driving the Armenians to wage their struggle on an international scale.

The tactics of our struggle are aimed at attaining the following goals:

- a) To expose the policy of the Turkish government in its barest form and to explain the reality of the genocide and the right of the Armenian people and the peoples of Turkey to self-determination.
- b) To guide Turkish public opinion to pressure the Turkish government to start negotiations, which is the first condition to end our attacks.
- c) To join our demands with those of the other oppressed minorities in Turkey.
- d) To show to the world public that appeasing a government as ill-reputed as that of Turkey can in no way contribute to the establishment of stability in this region of the Middle East.

e) To pressure the governments of nonaligned nations to try to bring about reaction and intervention from the U.S. and Soviet blocs.

Since we need a great amount of sympathy, in order to attain our goals it is necessary:

a) To wage our struggle within the correct framework of an issue that is the subject of dispute between the Turkish government and the Armenian people.

b) To paralyze Turkish diplomacy by seeking attacks against higher-level officials; to avoid attacking individuals who are not linked--or who are weakly linked--with the Turkish government system; and to avoid giving racist overtones to our struggle.

c) To strike against Turkey's economy; to insure that the economic assistance which is helping Turkey and which is provided by both NATO and the Soviet Union is ended.

d) To continue our acts without any interruptions; to win and to expand favorable public opinion and the support of Armenian political parties.

e) To force the Turkish government to return to the Armenian people the lands it has seized.

Harutyun Levonian and Raffi Elpekian are the ununiformed soldiers of the army of a people which does not have a government today. On behalf of the Armenian nation and its legitimate struggle, waged to establish independence on its homeland to be liberated, we ask the justice system of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to consider them not as criminals or terrorists, but as the fighters of a struggling nation.

[Signed] Justice Commandos of the Armenian Genocide

9588

CSO: 4605/68

ARMENIANS IN TEHRAN COMMEMORATE 1915 MASSACRE

Protest March Held

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 25 Apr 83 pp 1,8

[Text] By eagerly participating in the spiritual ceremonies commemorating the millions of martyrs of the Great Genocide and by being present yet another time in the political protest-march of 24 April, the Armenian community of Tehran raised its legitimate demanding fist against the fascist government of Turkey.

The Armenians of Tehran gathered around the St Sarkis church in the early hours of yesterday morning, before the beginning of the 24 April program, to commemorate the millions of martyrs of the Great Genocide and to participate in the march of protest and political demands.

By 9:30 am the church and its yard were already full, and the audience was carefully following the Holy Mass conducted by the Holy Father.

By 10:00 am it was impossible to enter the large yard surrounding the Prelacy. After the Holy Mass, the Holy Father spoke, and his voice could be heard by the people gathered on the Vila and Karimkhan avenues. Meanwhile, traffic was halted in the area, and the police closed the Nejat-ollah and Karimkhan avenues to traffic.

After the Holy Father's speech, the protest-march began.

The procession was led by priest fathers and members of the Diocese Council.

The heartfelt slogan of the wronged Armenian nation rose to the sky in Armenian and Persian like the raised fists of the demonstrators: "Death to the fascist government of Turkey." More than 40,000 old and young Armenian men, women and children, with their orderly behavior, made a strong impression on the Muslim onlookers and government security forces during the entire course of the march.

During the 2½-kilometer march from the St Sarkis church to the Holy Mother of God church, the participants followed and echoed in an orderly manner the slogans issued from vans located in the ranks of the demonstrators: "Struggle without end and without retreat until victory", "Armenian cause: Cause of blood", "Death to Turkey's fascist regime", "NATO, out of Armenian lands", "Seargent Kevork, we love you and we have chosen your path", "Turkey is the perpetrator of a genocide",

"A united Armenia with a united Armenian nation", "Fatherland, diaspora, one struggle, one front", "New generation, new struggle", "The Armenian people are the soldiers of the Armenian cause", "Liberty or death", "Death to the trio of Evren, Saddam and Begin", "The fighters are fighting, the Saddamists are shaking with fear", "Battle, battle until victory" and several other slogans in Armenian and Persian.

In front of the Turkish Airlines office on Kalej Square, which was under heavy police protection, the demonstrators thundered in Persian: "Death to the fascist government of Turkey."

During the demonstration brochures in Persian were handed out to thousands of Muslim compatriots who watched the demonstration with interest from the sidewalks.

When the procession approached the Holy Mother of God church, the Holy Father joined the demonstrators and led them to the yard surrounding the church.

At the conclusion of the march, a resolution consisting of five points was read and was approved by the demonstrators. We will reprint the resolution in its entirety in our tomorrow's issue.

The program ended with the blessings and the speech of the Holy Father.

Mr Hrair Khalatian, the delegate of the Armenian community of northern Iran, also participated in the march.

We will present the report on the wreath-laying ceremony held at the Memorial for the Millions of Martyrs of the Great Genocide on 23 April in our tomorrow's issue.

Resolution Adopted by Demonstrators

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 26 Apr 83 p 2

["Resolution of the 24 April March"]

[Text] The day 24 April 1983 is the 68th anniversary of the first genocide of the 20th century and a brutal genocide perpetrated against the more than 1.5 million Armenian inhabitants of Turkish-occupied Armenia.

Sixty-eight years ago, the Turkish government, protected by the imperialist powers ruling the world at the time, decided to annihilate the entire Armenian community living within its borders in accordance with a government-prepared plan and implemented this decision with the most brutal means available.

Around 1.5 million Armenians inhabiting Turkish-occupied Armenia fell victim to this inhuman decision, and those who escaped the evil hand of the Ottoman racists were deprived of their right to live on their traditional lands and were dispersed to the four corners of the world faced with the threat of losing their national identity. The lands that have been the homeland of the Armenians

for a few thousand years were seized by foreigners. Subsequent Turkish governments, also under the protection of their imperialist masters which have turned the lands evacuated of their Armenian inhabitants into NATO military bases, have continued not only to deny the genocide and the legitimate rights of the Armenian nation but also to use every means to misinform the world public by distorting historical facts

The great powers of the world are giving their seal of approval to the inhuman acts of the Turkish government with their silence--as they did 68 years ago--and despite their empty humanitarian declarations they are supporting the Turkish government both with respect to the massacres it committed against the Armenian nation in 1915 and in its efforts to distort historical facts, disregarding the gatherings that take place everywhere around the world on each anniversary of this brutal genocide to pay homage to the victims of this unprecedented cataclysm as well as to voice once again the legitimate rights of the Armenian people around the world and through them to focus the attention of the world on the debt they owe to this oppressed people.

Armenians present at this gathering, too, join their voices with the voice of millions of Armenians around the world and, knowing that the chain of evil of the world conquerors can only be broken through the unity of oppressed and wronged peoples, they express their demands as follows:

- 1) The raising and the review of the Armenian question at international forums --at the conferences of the nonaligned nations in particular--so that they will oversee the pursuit of the legitimate demands of the Armenian nation.
- 2) The publication of the report prepared by the UN Human Rights Commission in connection with the issue of genocide. Article 30 of the said report states that the Armenians were massacred by Turkey. Although the report has been approved for publication it has not been published so far as a result of pressure by the superpowers.
- 3) The return of occupied Armenian lands to their rightful owners and the congregation of the Armenian people in their traditional homeland.
- 4) The declaration of 24 April as the commemoration day of the Armenian genocide and as an official holiday for all Armenians.
- 5) The making of communications media available to the Armenians to enable them to neutralize the historical distortions of the Turkish government and to explain the truth to the world.

All Armenians present at this gathering of 24 April 1983 approve and endorse this resolution knowing that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in accordance with the spirit of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, will take direct steps to help the oppressed peoples of the world and to implement the demands stated in the five points of this resolution and will try to raise those demands at international and world forums.

'ANTI-TURK', 'PRO-ARMENIAN' BROCHURE DISTRIBUTED BY SOVIET EMBASSY

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 27 Apr 83 p 5

[Text] [The Istanbul daily] TERCUMAN reports that, by distributing a book about [Soviet] Armenia, the Soviet Embassy in Ankara has officially taken a stand of support toward the claims of the Armenians and Armenian terrorist organizations. The book contains some explicitly inimical remarks against Turkey.

The book, written by Gavril Petrosian and published by the NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY was distributed to those attending a press conference organized by the Soviet embassy in Ankara last week.

The book has an innocuous appearance. It is entitled "Armenia" and is supposedly written to provide information about Soviet Armenia. But page 18 dedicates space to the claims of Armenian terrorists who want to distort history. On that page the following can be read:

"Armenian workers greeted the revolution in Russia with great enthusiasm. The Soviet government decided that 'Turkish Armenia' must be autonomous and must determine its own destiny. Thus a golden opportunity was presented to unify Western Armenia with Eastern Armenia. But the Turks, who enjoyed the support of Germany, had no intention of leaving the Armenian lands. The Turkish government had already indicated this intention by murdering 1.5 million Armenians in 1915 'with the aim of solving the Armenian question.'"

After these allegations, the book states that the Nazis would also resort to the same means 25 years later. Hitler would order the extermination of all Jews, young and old, and would add: "Do not worry. Such incidents are forgotten quickly. Who remembers the Armenian genocide today?"

The Soviets claim in the book that the West never paid any attention to the Armenian genocide and that only the Soviets lent a hand to the Armenians.

There are charges against Turkey in the other pages of the book and the Soviet Embassy has had the audacity to distribute such a publication.

Soviets Urged to be Sensible

We read in GUNES:

The Soviets have been warned about the books, brochures and magazines sent by the Soviet Union to Turkey and distributed by the Soviet Cultural Center in Ankara.

Ambassador Ercumend Yavuzalp, a councilor at the Foreign Ministry, had these books --which are full of serious allegations against Turkey and which, at the same time, contravene historical facts--brought to the ministry and had them scrutinized. On instructions from the ministry, Yavuzalp summoned Soviet Ambassador Radianov to his office and orally protested to him about the baseless propaganda waged by the books and demanded that such publications never enter Turkey again.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Nazmi Akiman said that protests have been filed with the Soviet Union in the past for similar reasons.

The said books contain promotional information about the large and small republics of the Soviet Union as well as serious allegations against Turkey. The books entitled "Georgia", "Armenia", "Azerbaydzhan" and "Turkmenistan" contain baseless and libelous expressions such as: "The Georgians took shelter in the Soviet Union to escape the assaults and tortures of the bloodthirsty Turks"; "The Turks occupied the cities of Van, Kars and Erzurum, which belonged to the Armenians, subjected the Armenians to mass murder and advanced as far as the vicinity of the Fort of Yerevan"; "The Turks, led by the United States and incited by Western countries, are the chief perpetrators of distortive and libelous propaganda against the Soviet Union."

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIANS OBSERVE 1915 MASSACRE ANNIVERSARY THROUGHOUT WORLD

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 26 Apr 83 pp 1,3

[Text] We present below a brief survey of the activities held on the occasion of 24 April [Armenian Martyrs' Day] in France, Athens, London, Iran and Jerusalem, based on reports filed by AZTAG's own correspondents and by international news agencies.

France

In Paris, members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] and the Armenian National Movement gathered at Place de l'Etoile on Sunday afternoon, and two separate processions marched from there to the Turkish embassy which was heavily protected by the police.

The two processions included participants of all ages who recited slogans against the "Turkish fascist dictatorship."

In Marseilles, the ARF sponsored seminars on Saturday dealing with the themes of "exile and the reality of the Armenian question", "the concept of diaspora", "culture and political commitment" and "exile."

On Sunday, representatives of the Armenian community of Marseilles as well as political figures of the region took part in a gathering organized by the ARF and later laid wreaths at the martyrs' memorial in the church in Prado.

Around 4,000 members and sympathizers of the ARF marched to the Turkish embassy carrying tricolors [flag of the Armenian Republic of 1920] and delivered a memorandum which demanded from the Turkish government to begin negotiations with the representatives of the Armenian nation with an eye to establishing a state of peaceful coexistence among the Arab, Armenian, Greek, Kurdish and Turkish peoples.

Greece

All Greek political parties, left wingers as well as right wingers, took part in a rally commemorating the 68th anniversary of the Armenian genocide and condemned without reservations the massacres perpetrated by Turkey in 1915.

Representatives of these parties called for the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Armenian people and demanded from Turkey to admit its authorship role in the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians.

Deputy Panos Kontoghiorghis, representing PASOK [Panhellenic Socialist Movement Party], said in his speech that "PASOK stands by the side of the Armenians in the struggle that is being waged by various means." He emphasized, in particular, the right of the Armenian nation to set up an independent Armenian state.

During the same rally, Armenian speakers condemned Turkey for distorting history and pressuring countries with Armenian communities.

Avedis Mkhigian, representing the Armenian Committee in Greece, lauded in his speech the positive stance taken by France with respect to the Armenian question and observed that "the French government supports the Armenians in their struggle to regain their homeland despite pressures from Turkey."

After the rally, the participants marched to the Unknown Soldier Memorial where they placed a wreath.

Meanwhile, on Saturday, around 1,000 Armenian demonstrators organized a march from the center of Athens to the Turkish embassy despite last-minute attempts by the police to ban the march.

The demonstrators managed to reach the Turkish embassy after great difficulties and placed a memorandum at its door.

Parallel to these public demonstrations, press conferences were organized for Turkish and foreign journalists. In addition, posters, booklets and brochures symbolizing the Armenian struggle were published.

London

In London, functions and activities commemorating the April martyrs and elucidating Armenian political and territorial demands and, in particular, Turkey's attempts to distort historical facts began almost a week ago.

Between 13 and 15 April, 20 Armenian young men, sponsored by the youth branch of the ARF, held a protest hunger strike in front of the Turkish embassy.

Between 17 and 24 April, a number of activities and performances, sponsored by the Armenian Cause Committee, were held with the primary purpose of shedding light on the reality of the struggle of the Armenian nation and the Armenian question. These activities included a lecture accompanied by a film show on 17 April, a day of vigil in front of the Turkish embassy on 22 April and an English-language lecture at the University of London the same day, featuring speakers Christopher Walker and Comrade Sarkis Ghazarian, who had come specially for the event from Los Angeles. On 23 April, a march was held from the Speakers' Corner to Westminster Avenue where religious services were held and wreaths were laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. On 24 April, there were a number of events, including a public gathering, a political rally and a panel debate at the Speakers' Corner,

which was attended by a large number of Turks and foreigners and which took place in an atmosphere of hotly contested argument. In addition, thousands of explanatory brochures were distributed to those who attended these events.

Iran

On 24 April, following church services, nearly 40,000 Armenians took part in a massive demonstration on the streets of Tehran with the express permission of the Ministry of the Interior. Last year, the demonstration was banned because of the incidents that occurred in front of the Turkish embassy in previous years. The demonstrating Armenians marched carrying anti-Turkish banners and exclaiming: "Down with the fascist government of Turkey", "Freedom for Western Armenia."

In Nor Jugha, too, following church services, a demonstration march was held with the participation of nearly 5,000 Armenians. The demonstrators first gathered at the central square in Isfahan and then marched to the radio station building where a memorandum was read and delivered to the officials of the station. The demonstrators also marched through the Bagh-Kishmish quarter of the city, which was subjected to an attack by Turkish agents on 26 April 1981, and ended their march at the Holy Saviour monastery.

Starting from 21 April, events dedicated to 24 April were held in all Armenian schools in Iran. These events will continue until the end of the month.

On 23 April, a night of vigil was held in Tehran--with the participation of 15,000 Armenians--and in Nor Jugha.

The local press provided extensive space to these events and demonstrations in particular.

Jerusalem

The Armenian community of Jerusalem marked the 68th anniversary of the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians on Sunday.

Nearly 2,000 Armenians marched to the Armenian cemetery in Old Jerusalem.

The demonstrators, carrying banners demanding "justice for the Armenian people", protested the detention of Father Manuel Yergatian in Turkey and demanded his release.

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PAPER ANNOUNCES: 'WE HAVE TAKEN UP GAUNTLET'

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 23 Apr 83 p 1

[Text] Tomorrow, on 24 April 1983, we reach the 68th milestone on our path of struggle against the Turkish government which planned, organized and implemented the annihilation of the Armenian nation, which occupies most of our historic lands and which has uprooted us from those lands.

Each Armenian, whether living in the Fatherland [Soviet Armenia] or the diaspora, pauses yet another time at this milestone to kneel before the memory of our 1.5 million martyrs; renews his commitment to the realization of our martyrs' legacy; assesses the collective struggle that has been waged on that path so far by the nation and its organizations; and takes his next step toward tomorrow reinforced with renewed determination.

Looking back on the previous 67 milestones, we, the surviving generations of the Armenian genocide, see that 24 April has passed the stages of being a day of requiem, commemoration and mourning. Today, 24 April symbolizes the driving force behind the work to heal and to dress a political wound. More than that, the 68th milestone is a symbol of the Struggle; it is the milestone of giving new impetus to the momentum of the struggle of the Armenian nation against the Turkish government.

In 1915, Ittihadist [Unionist] Turkey, the heir to the Ottoman Empire, challenged us to a grave battle by embarking upon implementing its plan of annihilating an entire nation. We took up that gauntlet; we embarked upon the struggle of survival with determination and we responded concretely to the killer of Armenians: We are and we stay.

The republican government machines that succeeded the authors of massacres and forced migrations continued on the path they inherited. Until now they continue their crime of genocide and they continue challenging us to battle by employing their government machinery and by even distorting and reversing historical facts.

But we have taken up that gauntlet flung by Turkey, too, and we have stepped into the political battlefield to declare to the whole world and the one-time and present protectors of the "sick man" in particular that we have not forgotten--we cannot forget--the loss of our 1.5 million martyrs, our historic lands and our eternal right to be the indisputable owners of those lands. Furthermore, a

handful of fighters, born out of Armenian claims, have reopened the path drawn by Tehlirians, Yerganians and Shiragians, declaring concretely that, like any nation wronged as a result of great power interests, the Armenians, too, will not hesitate to resort to "insane means", which is the last but not the only language.

Our long-lasting struggle, which has passed by 68 milestones, is not and will not be sterile. It is a struggle of no return, and it will intensify progressively carrying in its wake the entire Armenian nation with its youth and students and all its children from all professions and currents. In the flow of this struggle, a special place has been reserved for [Soviet] Armenia, which, even in today's difficult political conditions, can participate in the struggle and give it additional strength and impetus.

A stronger Armenian struggle will inevitably result in greater sympathy from the international community, which has so far played a spectator's role, but that will be paralleled by intensified anti-Armenian moves by the killer of Armenians. In the last few years, these moves first took the form of diplomatic campaigns which then turned into threats against the Armenian people and which finally became crude and criminal acts--the usual and the only product of Turkish "genius"--the most recent example of which is the kidnaping of Comrade Apo Ashjian.

But whatever the results of Turkey's "innovativeness" may be, it must know well that the voice of a rightful Armenian nation will grow stronger every 24 April. The Armenian people and the Armenian youth in particular, who are demanding justice and reparations, will redouble their efforts at every milestone until the subdued expressions of sympathy expressed only in whispers today turn into a vociferous recognition of our rights...

Until the perpetrator of the genocide and the wrongdoer is punished...

Until 24 April becomes the milestone marking the return of our historic lands and the realization of the legacy of our martyrs.

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DYNAMIC OF TRADITIONALISM, CHANGE IN ALGERIAN SOCIETY DISCUSSED

Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French 5-11 May 83 pp 26-27

[Article by Abdelkader Hamdad, assistant lecturer in the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Algiers: "Use of Rites and Social Change"]

[Text] We had known for a long time that Nouredine Toualbi would not fail to urge us to some stimulating thinking with the results of the research work¹ that he recently presented in ALGERIE ACTUALITE (No 913 of 14-20 April 1983). I must say that personally, I have appreciated this particularly original work enormously, but far more for its limits, for the importance of the reflections that it suggests, than for the responses, as a whole, given to the problems posed.

There is first of all the well-known idea of the conflict of values engendered by the profound changes in our society, the idea that is considered to underlie the Algerian social agent's obligation to treat two types of cultural model identically. This point of departure for the research theme, which seems to constitute the essential determination of the ritual practices analyzed, has as its foundation an hypothesis about the Algerian cultural dynamic that is of small operative value, not to say outmoded. Indeed, we know well today that the conventional opposing of traditionalism against modernism is strongly contradicted by the facts, by a reality in which the ambivalence of the cultural models is only the form taken by a subtle social game of disguised recovery of traditional modes of conduct whose changed rites offer a good example. The result of this is that the most systematic observation of resurgent ritual practices permits one to perceive only the secondary effects of a more radical phenomenon--namely, the breakdown of the fabric of traditional social relations. The rites, as well as certain mythical beliefs or certain norms of behavior, have lately been making up for a lack--more precisely, the lack that one is made to feel by the unsuitability of the new models of social relations. Thus, in our day, the magical divinities are easily substituted for the complex authority of the official institutions; or, in another area, the emancipation of women exacerbates the desire for male domination. The individual's relationship to society is changing; it entails both a greater distance and an increased dependence, because of the multiplication of obligations and constraints necessary for the proper functioning of the system of rights and duties. We are no longer living in a society of small closed groups that the frequent "returns to the countryside" vainly attempt to regain, but rather in

an open total society that may appear to each of us hostile and threatening or more likely to respond to various individual aspirations.

At this level of analysis of social change, the concept of acculturation harks back to a previous stage of the transformation of the modes of cultural influence that society exerts on the individual.

At present, it is our own socialization structures (the mass media, the professional institution, for example) that produce the dominant models of behavior. Thus, the "anxiety" or "cultural anguish" of the Algerian social agent does not derive from "acculturation" pressure, understood as the action of a phenomenon external to stable individual motivations; rather, they result from lack of satisfaction of the needs created by modern life. It is well-known that our society suffers both from the effects of change and from the insufficiency of this change. Rapid change satisfies the needs that it creates and at the same time raises them to the level of the most desirable values, because it does not succeed, on account of the insufficiency of the results, in fully satisfying all the new needs that are transformed into expectations, into frustrated aspirations. One then witnesses an upgrading of the expectations that keeps up the nostalgic identifications with traditional cultural values. Such values represent the elements of conservation of the collective identity and of authentication of the individual's bonds with the community. Whether it is a matter of the Algiers-area "ouadas" or the Constantine-area "nechras," the members of the social group express the need to identify with these cultural models both in order to attach the unalterable specificity of the past to the ruptures of the present and to affirm their membership in a community whose indefectible character it is striven to maintain.

Nevertheless, one must ask, with N. Toualbi, why it is the ritual practices in particular to which such amplified adherence is being given. It is certainly because the rite lends itself remarkably well to innovative tendencies; nevertheless, so long as one considers that the innovation that affects the rite relates to a phenomenon of civilization that cannot be reduced to a limited influence, one will note that even an intangible religious practice such as pilgrimage has not been spared by different forms of "manipulation" of the ceremonial that surrounds the pilgrim's departure or return. One may think that all this is quite "inoffensive"; but in fact, in the cultural domain, "manipulative" (combinative) activity comprises variable /degrees/. The psychology of culture teaches us that the deepest degree of variation of a symbolic practice, from the point of view of its sociocultural value, is the degree of variation that brings about dissociation of social adherence to practice. Consequently, the rite, considered in the whole of the practices by which it is manifested, loses none of its character as a cultural invariant so long as the internal structure of the need for social adherence to the practices maintains its basic function. By what is this need for social adherence to ritual practices essentially manifested? What is this basic function that animates the life of the rites? These fundamental questions are, in my view, totally evaded by the analysis that N. Toualbi makes of the psychological impact of social change on the use of rites. Two major hypotheses of the research seem highly disputable to me. Thus, the rite is not "a mechanism for psychological defense against acculturation perceived as a threat of deculturation"; nor does it play "a mod-

erating role in the conflict of values"; it takes on, during the current phase of change, a /social reliance/ function. In the same way as the religious practices, but with variable degrees, depending on individuals' adherence, the rite possesses a specific cultural value that invests it with great identifying force. Attachment to tradition, through the permanence of the collective memory (source of identity), represents the specific cultural value of the rite that motivates the need for social adherence to the ritual practices and nourishes their identifying force. It is precisely this force that enables each practitioner of ritual to give a recognizable, appreciable image of himself and to recognize himself in others. Here, of course, the zeal, the ardor, the ostentation, the bulimia of the consummation of the rite are based on reciprocity of ritualistic behavior. The rite is contagious in a society sick of change. But let us reassure ourselves: this contagion is salutary because of its security-creating effects. It recreates the shared identity of a community life threatened by the more or less notable sliding toward the anonymous social being of the big cities. It procures a curious form of enjoyment mixed with nostalgia that explains in part the facile penchant for frenzy of means and excess of ceremonial.

The other aspect of the determinations of this behavior of ostentatious consummation of the rite is linked to an ambient social reality dominated by a "status" code. This code, with all that it comprises as distinctive norms, is apprehended by everyday language in its most unbridled manifestations ("Ez-zoukh!"). It constitutes exactly a veritable reference system through which one judges, one sanctions the model of the accomplished person (socio-occupational status, material attributes such as car, apartment with all the conveniences, style of clothing, etc). Any infraction of the status code is more or less reproached--whence the compulsion developed by reinforcement of conformity to the norms of well-being, of luxury, of attractiveness, of prestige, etc.

Finally, the status code plays, more and more in function of the level of economic development, a role of socialization and of wide diffusion of the signs of recognition: it is therefore linked to the emancipation--formal, at least--of social relations. It should also be stressed that it is precisely in social relations that the model of the accomplished person is discriminatory and that, consequently, it is at the origin of some serious frustrations.

Finally, one may ask the extent to which a study of the psychological implications of the new metamorphoses of the rite can make a positive contribution to the cultural problem posed by social change in our country. In my view, an investigation, even if systematic, of the innovative ritual practices could only lead to an aspect revealing of the transformations of the social fabric in which all our daily practices take shape. The various manifestations of the innovative rite certainly appear as a good index of these transformations, but analysis of them does not make it possible to bring out the principal consequence of the changes that we can observe within our society. The speed and depth of the changes that are occurring in our country's various social institutions (family, occupational, educational) are being expressed essentially by an increase in /sociocultural mobility/, a mobility of ideas, of persons, of products. This great mobility is bringing about a reorganization of the traditional forms of collective solidarity. We are in the process of passing from a

system of traditional social relations and collective solidarity to a system of "modernizing" social organization, characterized by the heteromorphism of the interpersonal relations existing within the diversity of persons and of groups. "Normally," this radical change should gradually bring out a type of Algerian personality endowed with the capacity to identify rapidly with the transformations of the environment and to respond in a coherent manner to the manifold exigencies of modern life. We note, though, that the transformations in progress have amplified the tensions created both by the end purpose of economic development (national construction on a high level) and the variety of the cultural models offered (Arab-Islamic, Berber, African, Western). The Algerian citizen is thus the locus of intersection (and not an ambivalent subject) of many sociocultural currents, and he is more or less aware of the idea that he must at any cost make the effort to arrive at factors of integration, of harmonization of all the elements that make up these currents. In view of the amplitude and the dynamic of this situation that goes beyond the disparate individual efforts, the cultural question in our country remains linked to two important problems:

--We can no longer be satisfied, on both the theoretical and practical levels, with a psychosociological position of being "culturally inbetween," considering, moreover, that it is the least serious and most acceptable form of cultural choice. This would amount to purely and simply denying change, letting it be believed that it is possible to conceive the existence of a society capable of drawing its dynamism from a sort of static gap in which cultural models of ambivalent relations are pitted against one another. This is an ideological view of conservative inspiration that is totally contradicted by the reality of the social upheavals that we are living through.

The orientations of the choice of political institutions could not, on the one hand, promote the development and modernization of the socioeconomic structures, and on the other, could not institutionalize the conflict of values. We showed in a recent work² that the set of political-institution values comprises normative orientations that are found also in the action strategies implemented in all aspects of social life (work, leisure, consumption). The deployment of these action strategies diversifies the behavior of the social agents and necessarily reacts on the political orientations so as to make their content up-to-date. It is therefore entirely erroneous to think that with the supposed ambivalence of the Algerian agent there coincides an institutional ambivalence in a sort of general consensus on a conflictual option of values.

A culture policy should therefore, in this context of social change, make use of a technical instrument for evaluating, controlling and integrating the various aspects of the /specific nature/ of the changes of cultural models implied by development.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Acculturation, Conflicts of Values and Use of Rites in Algeria: Psychological Contribution to the Theory of Social Change"--doctoral thesis in Letters and Social Sciences.
2. "Cultural Specificity in a Mass-Communication System"--Doctoral thesis presented by Abdelkader Hamdad to the Institute of Social Psychology of Communications of Louis Pasteur University in Strasbourg.

CEMENT SHORTAGE HURTS THE BUILDING PROGRAMS FOR HOUSING

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2859, 28 Mar 83 pp 20-23

/Article by Sawsan al-Jayyar: "Only a Cement Black Market"/

/Text/ Believe it or not--after Egypt use to export its surplus production of cement to more than 30 countries it has been transformed in the most recent period into an importing country whose total imports of cement have reached 50 percent of the actual volume of its markets' needs!

Since the construction industry has building materials as one of its chief needs, any restrictions which would by their very nature shut off the increasing importation of cement, or try to achieve such a shut-off, would necessarily cause a stalling in the implementation of the new five-year plan, which is counting on the construction sector as a central facet of its success!

It is well known that any step to reconstruct Egypt must be accompanied by a national effort that corresponds with increasing the amount of building materials. Some studies have indicated that the cause of the failure of the Egyptian building industry to attain the desired levels goes back to the deficiencies found in building materiel--both in quantity and quality.

The question now is: What should be done in the building materials market, and most particularly cement?

Mustafa Zaki, director-general of the Chamber of Commerce says, "The wholesale construction goods market is characterized by constant movement and change as a result of increasing demand because the growing volume of private investments for this sector has attained nearly 50 percent of the total yearly investments in Egypt. At the same time local production has grown clearly incapable of responding to the greater demand for building materials, especially in such decisive materials as cement and reinforcing steel rods. Expansion plans up till now have not succeeded in adapting to the continuous growth in yearly needs.

"It is enough for us to point out our production of cement is still 4 million tons while at the same time yearly needs in the market amount to 9 million as a result of which the country's general budget assumed 300 million pounds worth of cement imports last year while the country earmarked only 186 million pounds this year for expenditures for the cement industry."

But why has Egypt been transformed from a surplus cement-producing nation into a country that is suffering from a shortage?

Some place the cause with a doubling of building activity and the growth of construction activities everywhere. Some point to the deficiency of production because of the wearing out of the machinery in the cement factories, and their incapacity to produce the amounts needed for sufficiency.

Ibrahim Hajib, advisor at the Ministry of Housing, said, "The state, as represented in its agencies, is responsible first of all for the failure of the expansion plans which was the result of the age of the factories' machinery and the failure to set up renovation or replacement projects for them because of the deficiency of the required means (to do so)."

As for Dr Ahmad al-'Iryan, head of the materials division of Engineering, Cairo, puts the cause for the failure of the plans with the control of a group of rich, monopolistic capitalists over the cement market, through the big merchants who have established the importation of huge amounts that permit them to impose fixed prices.

"More than that they have been able to impede the cement industry by delaying various programs like the extensions at Hulwan, Turrah, and al-Tabbim, or the new installations at Suez so that they could benefit from their importation of cement."

Dr Ibrahim Sharkis in the Ministry of Industry supports this view: "The Ministry of Industry prepared a plan which aimed at increasing cement production from 10 to 12 tons between 1980 and 1981. But subsequently this industry was transferred to the Ministry of Housing, and these programs were suspended to serve the interests of some individuals engaged in the cement importing business."

In the Cement Purchasing Office, the sole agency responsible for the purchase and distribution of cement both for the government and for the public sector, Anwar Isma'il, director of the commercial office said, "The cement industry is characterized by some essential features; locally all the top-grade raw materials needed to make it are amply available, and because of these features it is feasible that Egyptian cement could break into the world market, which is well known for its competitiveness due to all the foreign made varieties (available). As a result of the booming construction activity, the production of cement has steadily declined in the local market and has transformed Egypt from an exporting country into an importing one because of the obstruction of the market's needs to where our imports now amount to almost 50 percent of total demand."

Following the production of locally made cement in the four existing plants during the years 1970 to 1976 there appears to be a gradual decrease that on the average amounted to 2.5 percent per year, a result of the lack of replacement, renovation, or periodic maintenance of the machinery in the plants. To face the shortage the country opened the door to imports in 1975 to meet the market's needs. In May 1977, it permitted importation without requiring currency exchanges. This facilitated increasing the amount of imports, the total of which in that same year amounted to 1.23 million tons, and which rose over the next year to 1.41 million tons.

Further encouraging the importers, the state has excused them from customs duties and considered them exempt from conforming to resolution 119 which restricts the percentage profit they may take on imported goods to 30 percent.

Within the Cement Purchasing Office customers crowd around the desks of the employees asking for their quotas of cement.

I spoke to one who said: "I paid the price of the permit in advance 5 months ago, and in spite of that my allotment has not yet been issued to me. I only get the same response every day, 'The amounts have not yet arrived.' For that reason I'm forced to buy on the black market, the amount I need that is, in order to assure that I can carry on with my work. After I get my quota from the Office, I will resell it again on the black market to recoup the money I spent buying the first amounts."

/Question/ What is the cause of the disappearance of cement and the appearance of the black market in your opinion?

/Answer/ "There are many reasons, some of them the delay in delivering allotted quotas, the control of a limited number of private sector merchants over the imports market, the presence of more than one price for cement. The price of an allotment from the Housing (Ministry) differs from the price of an allotment from the free market, and both differ from the price of the merchants' market. All that shares in raising prices. It is enough to know that the Cement Purchasing Office hands over ordinary, free market Portland cement to the merchants at a price of 52 pounds a ton while in the market its price goes up to 90 pounds."

Dr Ahmad al-'Iryan offered a comment on that: "That limited clique of capitalists has been able to exert control over the import market and to impose certain fixed prices."

He continued: "What's strange is that the number of these importers does not exceed the fingers on my one hand, and they've had the nerve to import inferior and bad varieties of cement. This causes--as a result of using this bad cement--defective structures, to the point where we hear lately of new buildings collapsing or falling apart."

"Some examples that have occurred in the 'cement world' are that some freighters arrive in port laden with cement of unknown provenance that have false labels on their containers, which do not indicate the cement's true specifications. In that way all kinds of inferior brands have entered into the country.

"And even though we have here an agency responsible for monitoring the quality of the specifications of cement, cement takes a long time to test for its quality or defectiveness. Insufficient time, especially because such a large number of freighters are in port at one time, forces us to unload them immediately so as not to risk fines for the delay."

Dr 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ata, professor of the materials division, Engineering /Faculty/ at 'Ayn Shams University, said: "In spite of the difficulty of getting cement

in Egypt, either imported or locally made, the way it is handled is not appropriate either. It is wrapped in thin paper sacks, so that when it is transported or stored in other than the proper manner it gets damaged, which causes for instance the cement to lose its strength, as a result of chemical changes, when it is mixed into concrete."

During a tour to discover what happens during the storage of the cement that brings its price to 90 pounds per ton we were able to take a number of photographs that point out the extent of the neglect in storage of the cement. In front of a huge apartment building in al-Duqqi were stacked piles of cement, the sacks ripped open and exposed to ruin from rain water or water from burst sewage pipes. This picture can be witnessed in most of the streets of Cairo in front of any building under construction.

When we visited the new cities, taking for example the modern residential city of al-Salam City, we can see heaps and piles of cement completely exposed or in torn sacks, where the spilled cement powder has changed into hardened mounds.

It is certain that this cement has become unusable.

When we regard the apartment buildings existing in the area we found that the concrete was a weak and inferior kind as a result of using these bad kinds of cement. This says nothing of the presence of large puddles of water that had leaked from the plumbing of these buildings, which indicate that the building's foundations are badly done and have caused defects in the concrete superstructure, just as one of the engineers working on this project told us.

Is it so strange then that we ask ourselves why these buildings fall down?

The building field is not free from problems. So when we examine the problem of the cement, the problem of steel reinforcing rods also becomes prominent. Most of the public sector firms have to import them, as have most of the importers, because of the high costs of the rods abroad.

As for local production, it cannot produce more than half of the volume demanded by the market.

The question now arises: How can the shortage of steel reinforcing rods--the price of which has risen on the black market to 390 pounds per ton--be solved?

The third problem for the building industry is the steady decline of brick production from 1500 million to 55 million bricks. Consequently when the Ministry of Housing ordered pursuant to public bids the production of 740 million clay baked bricks last year, what did the officials say when the production could not surpass 17 million bricks?

Mustafa Zaki, director-general of the Chamber of Commerce: "Our manufacture of steel reinforcing rods is still 350,000 tons, but at the same time actual market demand amounts to 1.2 million tons. This costs the budget more than 200 million pounds to import the shortfall. The state is earnestly trying to set up a number of programs to stem the clear shortfall in production, but most

of the production programs have not yet begun. The al-'Amariyah project to manufacture 700,000 tons will begin production in 3 years. The steel assembly plant in al-Sadat City has not yet even been inaugurated and it can only begin production 4 years after the project's inauguration."

So if these are the circumstances in the market now when 130,000 housing units yearly are being built, what can we think when we learn that the national budget for 1982-1983 has set aside 730 million pounds as budgeted expenditures for the building of 150,000 residential units, of which 82,000 are to be popular (i.e. lowcost) housing units? And what should we think when we learn that according to the Housing and Reconstruction Ministry's public announcements the size of the housing problem is such that it will need to build 3.6 million residential units between now and the year 2000, units which will cost nearly 40 billion pounds? It is a huge burden which surpasses all feasible capabilities unless there exists some comprehensive planning solve the problem, if we don't take these factors into consideration.

'Abd al-Rahman al-Kashif, chairman of the board of directors of the Egypt Engineering Company for Basic Works, said:

"The private sector needs to be encouraged to actively participate and take part in providing basic building materials, along with a gradual lifting of governmental control from government-owned manufacturing firms, as it is compatible with the existence of the joint-owned companies and the setting up of free-market pricing policy. Likewise lift the controls on distribution. We must provide security for the private sector and for capital, by relaxing the regulatory decrees which are issued daily. We are promoting this participation in those projects which can provide these materials at the appropriate time and in the quantities and qualities which are in demand by construction activities."

Dr Ahmad al-'Iryan believes that the solution to the building materials problem is to return everything connected with the cement industry back to the Ministry of Industry, and not to leave it with the Housing Ministry.

Finally these are the aspects of the picture of the building materials problem in Egypt. Now perhaps we can realize that the housing problem will continue to exist as long as we do not look first into the causes that add to creating the problem of building materials.

9587

CSO: 4504/297

CENTRAL AUDIT AGENCY REPORTS DISCUSSED IN PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 1 Mar 83 p 3

[Report by Anji Rushdi: "Is The Central Audit Agency's Investigation Futile: The Head of the Agency Says: No, I am Optimistic; The General Atmosphere is Very Healthy"]

[Text] The report of the Central Audit Agency contained a phrase that has become a title of a regular column in newspapers and magazines. What does this mean? Does it mean that misappropriations and violations have exceeded a reasonable limit in the government, or the public sector? Is there a new atmosphere that calls for earnest efforts to uncover the mistakes and those who commit them? Therefore, serious attempts have been made in search of facts. However, are these piles of papers which include hundreds of reports and which deal virtually with every aspect of our life, simply futile? In other words, to what extent can actions be taken regarding the incidents uncovered by the report?

It might be useful to take a look at the history of the agency and its functions.

In the report read before the People's Assembly, Dr Atif Sidqi, head of the Central Audit Agency, mentioned the following facts: The Central Audit Agency was established in 1942 under the auspices of the Audit Department and since then it has been assisting the legislative authority in monitoring public funds.

This duty was confirmed throughout the agency's history and especially in 1964 in the law which broadened the scope of the Agency's functions to include both financial oversight and monitoring of the administrative performance of the central and local government departments and of the various components of the public sector.

Confirming this role, another bill was passed in 1972 regarding the relationship between the People's Assembly and the Central Audit Agency. In the first article it stipulated that the agency was an independent authority connected with the People's Assembly, assisting it in monitoring public funds.

Therefore, by virtue of these laws which govern and delimit the functions of the agency and, being specific, all financial violations, the agency presents observations, recommendations and evaluations.

Should the agency's assessment of the financial stand or administrative performance of a given government department be challenged by that department, a matter that rarely occurs, the issue at dispute is presented to the appropriate minister or to the supervisory authority of that department.

Periodical reports are submitted by the agency to the People's Assembly regarding the disputed issues. But in many cases where the agency uncovers instances of embezzlement, bribery, or stealing, the agency informs the public prosecutor directly and immediately.

The jurisdiction of the Agency extends practically to everything, even perhaps to the air we breathe. However, the most important functions of the agency are:

1. Monitoring of public funds.
2. The supervision of the implementation of the constitution in certain cases. For instance, the constitution stipulates that requests for foreign loans have to be approved by the People's Assembly. Therefore, if a foreign loan is processed without the endorsement of the People's Assembly, the agency can rule that the procedures for obtaining the loan are not in conformity with the constitution. This legal supervision extends to include the smallest regulations governing the labor and pension laws.
3. The supervision of job performance, or one could say economic oversight. The agency evaluates the performance of the various associations, companies, and assistance authorities (such as charitable organizations) to see to what extent they have realized their objectives, the degree of efficiency, the delays, and the reasons and problems to which they are subjected.

Is, for instance, the association incapable and deficient, or is its failure due to external factors beyond its control, such as the lack of skilled and trained staff and the shortage of hard currency? This kind of monitoring extends to all government agencies, organizations and service-rendering departments, such as transportation, education and health.

The report of the Central Audit Agency presented to the People's Assembly is indicative of the functions which the Agency performs.

The following observations were made regarding the housing sector companies:

1. Lack of funds to meet the needs of their projects forced them to resort to outside financing and led to the instability of their financial framework.
2. The financiers' sudden and premature withdrawal of their shares.

3. Partial negligence in collecting past-due debts. Government agencies alone are in LE 20 million debt to construction companies. Most of these agencies stopped their payments.

4. The inability of the annual investments to achieve the volume at which the plan aims.

5. The inability to reach a financial settlement between the construction companies and some government agencies regarding the cost of certain operations. Therefore, large sums due to construction companies are frozen at the said departments.

6. Some activities, such as the activities of the Heliopolis Transportation Company and the Elevator Division within the Nile Company for General Engineering, continue to incur losses. Nothing has been done to avoid these losses which badly affect the functions, the growth, and even the mere existence of these companies.

Dr ^CAtif Sidqi went on enumerating in the report the factors contributing to the malfunction of the Housing Department.

The report gave another example of the agency's evaluation of the sewage system, which has gone unnoticed. The agency gave strong and repeated warnings in a series of four reports, the first of which was presented 8 years ago and the last in 1981 about the complete deterioration of the sewage system. The report pointed also to the cases of corruption which were tried by the courts, such as the case of ^CIsmat al-Sadat, and Tawfiq 'Abd-al-Hayy, where it was ruled that the contract concerning the imported "spoiled cheese" was unconstitutional. The question arises then about the value of the role which the Agency plays. Is it a futile task?

The reply is: "The general atmosphere gives the agency its strength and effectiveness. The cabinet has established an office headed by a deputy minister and including a group of highly competent specialists. The function of this office is to study and analyze the agency's reports and take up the issues discussed with the concerned minister. We are virtually in daily contact with this office.

"The same method is followed in every governorate. An office has been established in each one of them to receive and carry out the agency's recommendations. However, one should be realistic here. These offices lack skilled staff and they do what is in the realm of possibility.

Here is something which shows the change in the general atmosphere. The Agency sends periodic reports to the governorates to point out the deficiencies and to make recommendations. One day, the Agency received a letter from the governor of al-Bahr al-Ahmar [The Red Sea] governorate asking why a report was not sent to him. Did the absence of a report mean the agency did not find any violation or deficiencies in his administration?

However, this supportive atmosphere has prevailed only during the last two years. In 1974, the open-door economic policy was initiated. The bills that were passed governing the functions of investment associations stipulated that companies established under these bills be treated as private enterprises even if the government owns 90 percent of the shares. Since its establishment in 1942, the agency has always considered every company in which the government owns any amount of shares to be under the agency's jurisdiction. But under the new investment laws, it has no power over the newly established investment associations. A grave consequence of the application of these laws was the establishment of many companies, the majority of whose shares were owned by the government, i.e. paid for from public funds. Yet not even the ministry concerned has the authority to monitor their operations."

[Question] Can something be done to remedy this situation?

[Answer] No one disagrees that capital investment should be encouraged and supported; however, the question that arises here is to what extent should this support go? Some fear that if the investment associations are made accountable to the Central Audit Agency, private enterprises might be very hesitant to invest in joint projects with government agencies. On the other hand, however, some insist that the agency must be allowed to play its primary role, namely, the protection of public funds. They also maintain that the agency's supervision does not hinder the execution of any projects, since projects are evaluated only after their completion and in accordance with the general outlines of trade laws. If any association has its own guide lines, the agency's evaluation is done within the framework of these guidelines.

The urgent importance of this issue is most apparent with regard to the participating public sector banks such as Bank Misr and Bank al-Ahli.

The violations revealed during the hearings on "corruption cases" and the attitude of certain banks towards court requests demonstrate more clearly than ever that the agency's monitoring must be mandatory. Each association in which public funds are invested should have a comptroller who would confer with and report to the agency.

As you know the Central Audit Agency had presented a comprehensive report on the activities of the Investment Authority, and another on the Port Said Free Zone, and both will be discussed in the People's Assembly.

[Question] The Agency's supervision extends to include press agencies, political parties, and foreign grants. Is it not possible that this kind of power might make the Agency a "state" within a state, or let a genie out of the bottle?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the Agency is powerful, efficient, and has a huge and competent staff. However, its actual strength stems from the general atmosphere prevalent in the country, the warm cooperation the Agency receives, the deep appreciation which its reports are accorded, and the

fact that the Agency is the government's right arm for getting at the truth.

[Question] With all the paper and reports, is not the object drowned in a sea of paper? For instance, to what extent can the Agency's 1979 report be effective when the People's Assembly is discussing it now in 1981?

[Answer] Obviously, the Agency is not responsible for that delay. The Agency had already conducted a study that will greatly enhance the effectiveness of its reports and the immediate responses to its findings.

From now on the head of the Agency will submit reports to every minister, concentrating on the general problems pertinent to financial or administrative reform. The annual reports on the public sector's activities consist of 25 volumes, while those on the government agencies' comprise a thousand pages. In this manner, any official would have easy access to the Agency's observations and evaluations.

The Agency's activities constantly expand in height, breadth and depth, even, one feels, to the air we breathe. In fact, the Agency is currently undertaking a study in collaboration with foreign experts on the impact of development on the environment. Cairo and Alexandria were chosen as locations for this study in order to find out to what extent industries affect cities' environment and whether they should be set up in the cities or in the desert.

The only thing which falls outside of the scope of the Agency's jurisdiction is the administrative supervision of projects. The primary function of the Agency is to evaluate the projects after their completion on the basis of documents presented. However, the top officials of the Agency maintain that administrative supervision is indispensable and very vital for the country's reform. Dr ^CAtif Sidqi, head of the Central Audit Agency, is very optimistic and expects great improvement, because the desire for reform is genuine. There is no doubt that many problems exist, but surely they can be resolved.

Dr ^CAtif's optimistic statement is justified by the fact that some local governments have already amended their laws upon the Agency's recommendations. Dr ^CAtif, head of the Central Audit Agency, is a professor of economics and chairman of the Department of Economics and Finance. Since his graduation from the College of Law he has lived in the world of figures and statistics.

12188

CSO: 4504/221

OIL, MINERAL EXPLOITATION DISCUSSED

Khartoum SUNA in English No 4467, 21 Apr 83 pp 3, 4

[Text] Khartoum, 21 Apr (SUNA)--President Numayri Wednesday paid a visit to the Ministry of Energy and Mining and addressed the employees.

In his speech President Numayri directed the Minister to lay down plans for the training of employees in the field of minerals exploration in conformity with the country's plans in this respect.

The president also directed for intensifying efforts for exchanging oil exploration expertise between Sudan and friendly and sisterly countries in order to train Sudanese nationals to carry out future plans.

President Numayri promised to support the ministry in its efforts for laying down policies and strategies of comprehensive development based on developing natural resources. The president further hailed the ministry's efforts in the fields of oil and minerals exploration.

Addressing the meeting, the Minister of Energy and Mining Dr Sharif al-Tuhmani assured the president that all the employees would cast a "yes" vote in the presidential plebiscite. He elaborated on the ministry's activities in the fields of oil and mineral exploration.

The minister said President Numayri's third term of office would witness the completion of the projects of electricity, investment of Sudan's oil, the pipeline and the refineries.

The managers of Chevron-Sudan, the Sudanese-Saudi-French project for the exploration of the Red Sea resources and the British Minex briefed the meeting on the activities of their companies in the Sudan. The manager of Minex said they were planning to exploit the discovered gold commercially following the signing of an agreement with the Ministry of Energy and Mining. Minex is exploring for gold in the Red Sea mountains and for uranium in Kordofan Region. Chevron's manager said his company would bring in a fourth rig for exploration works in the country.

CSO: 4500/519

BRIEFS

NUMAYRI CRITICIZES SSU PRACTICES--Khartoum, 4 Mar (SUNA)--President Numayri's comment on the recommendations of the Fourth SSU National Congress specialized committees, Thursday, was marked with self-criticism to some of the SSU practices in the past. He declared that the SSU was unable to run the two daily newspapers AL-AYYAM and AL-SAHAFAH, despite many studies to improve their standards. "It is very obvious that the two papers are still below the level aspired by all of us," Numayri said. "They would have done much more better if they were under the responsibility of the Ministry of Information, because it has the experienced organs that could supervise and promote them," the president added. The two papers, he said, were overstaffed, but nobody could say why that was so. He defined the SSU organizations as political organs that should not try to intervene in executive work. Numayri referred to examples of unqualified students nominated by the SSU for scholarships abroad, and explained that the nomination of students for scholarships was the task of the Ministry of Education and Guidance and not the SSU. The president pointed out his rejection, last year, of interrogation of ministers by SSU committees because the ministers were members of the executive organ. Nobody has the right to check the ministers except for the President of the Republic, Numayri explained. He said banks were allowed to operate currency exchange offices to prevent deviation of private currency exchange offices. "There should be moral measures for practising the profession of currency exchange," the president added. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4419, 4 May 83 p 3]

WORKSHOP ON REFUGEES--Khartoum, 17 Apr (SUNA)--A workshop on income-generating activities for refugees in Eastern and Central Sudan will be held at the Friendship Palace Hotel, 17-20 April. The workshop, which will be opened by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad is being organized by the Commissioner of Labour, Muhammad al-Muntada Mustafa and the Commissioner of Refugees, Ambassador 'Abd-al-Majid Bashir al-Ahmadi, together with the International Labour Organization (ILO). The workshop, which brings together policy makers and experts from the Sudan, the ILO and UNHCR, and aims to promote self-reliance for refugees in Eastern and Central Sudan, will examine proposals prepared as a result of five months of field studies among refugees' settlements. The field studies included surveys of the refugees socio-economic skills and of the labour and commodity markets in the refugee-affected areas. The proposals, which took account of existing self-help schemes, identified 21 possible income-generating projects. The ILO delegation is led by Mr J. Martin, chief of the Employment and Development Branch, and also

includes Mr Samir Radwan, senior economist in the Rural Employment Policies Branch. A delegation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), led by Mr Jacques Cuenod, deputy director of assistance, and including the UNHCR Representative in the Sudan, Mr Robert Muller, will also participate. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4463, 17 Apr 83 p 5]

FISH RESOURCES--Khartoum, 16 Apr (SUNA)--Commercial work in Jabal al-Awliya' Dam Project for the development and exploitation of fish resources will begin next May, Dr Samir Yani from the Ministry of Animal Resources told SUNA. The project includes two ice factories at each of Kosti, White Nile Province and al-Shagarah, Khartoum Province and insulating trucks for the storage and transportation of fish in addition to 20 fishing boats, two launches and fishing nets, Dr Yani added. The project is aimed at providing fishing equipments and extending services to the fishermen at reasonable prices and in this connection establishment of fishermen cooperative societies and transportation of fish to Western Sudan would be encouraged, he added. Execution works of the project began in August 1982 by a Japanese company against a 500 million Yen grant (\$ 2.2. million) extended by the government of Japan to the Sudan. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4462, 16 Apr 83 p 2]

TUTI ISLAND RESOURCES--The Federal German Aid Agency has agreed to finance a study on implementation of some projects to modernize utilization of renewable energy resources in Tuti island, SUNA learned. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English No 4474, 27 Apr 83 p 5]

CSO: 4500/219

FORMER CHIEF OF MOSSAD INTERVIEWED

Jerusalem KOTERET RASHIT in Hebrew No 19, 14 Apr 83 pp 10-12, 23

[Interview with Yitzhaq Hofi, former chief of MOSSAD, by Amir Oren; date and place not specified]

[Text] Yitzhaq (Haqa) Hofi has what Napoleon looked for among his marshals--luck. Hofi headed the MOSSAD for 8 years. In his day the MOSSAD voiced the opinion that ties with the Phalangists had to be tightened and Bashir al-Jumayyil had to gambled on. Two days after Hofi retired, Bashir was assassinated and the chain of events leading to the Sabra and Shatilla massacres and to the inquiry commission started.

The commission refrained from charging Hofi's successor (his former deputy) with responsibility for the pro-Falangist conception of the MOSSAD. It seems that if Hofi had stayed for another week on the job he would have been considered responsible for it.

But this "if" is not fair. Hofi might have acted differently in the consultations following Bashir's murder. Be it as it may, he was no longer on the job, and he appeared before the commission as an expert witness rather than a defense witness.

The commission reported that the heads of the MOSSAD had heard Bashir talk about his unequivocal intentions of "liquidating the Palestinian problem when he took power, even if he had to use unconventional methods (against them)."

Hofi's successor said that the "leaders of the MOSSAD developed subjective feelings, having had constant ties with the heads of the Falangists."

It is said about Hofi that during the internal discussions he warned against relying of the Falangist house of cards and predicted that Bashir would eventually be assassinated.

Those who took part in the discussions are now convinced that the reservations of Hofi and of Maj Gen Yehoshu'a Sagi, military intelligence chief, about Sharon's war plans caused Begin (at least back then, 2 months before the war and at least outwardly) to side with those who supported the limiting of the plans to the 40 km area.

Attempts to get Hofi to talk about those reports are not successful. In this first long interview since he retired from the MOSSAD, Maj Gen (Ret) Hofi, currently head of the Electric Company, refuses to talk about the Lebanon War and his role in it, pro or con. He does not allow himself the privilege he had denied his subordinates, but his silence is also a convenient way of defending himself against questions and doubts.

In his character and style Hofi is, in his own words, a "civil servant." He protects the public interest, even when his changing political bosses go astray. He is not a politician and does not look for power, albeit he did not refrain from taking on those who invaded his turf (Begin's first adviser on terrorism, Amihai Paglin) or subordinates who fought with him (Dave Qimhi who had to switch to the foreign office). During his career in the IDF and in the MOSSAD he enjoyed good relations with Yitzhaq Rabin, Ezer Weizman and Menahem Begin, but not with Ariq Sharon, who wanted to add the MOSSAD to his estate in the Defense Ministry.

He is 56 years old, and has lost 22 pounds since he began to sit on the electric chair. Hofi plays with his grandchildren at his home on the edge of Tel Aviv and takes out his personal mementos only upon request. He grins at the sight of the Uzi butt with the three small statues of the see-hear-speak-no-evil monkeys (the MOSSAD, the AMN and THE SBK, not necessarily in that order).

When he says "we" he does not mean the electricians. This modest, honest and friendly man exhudes pride in MOSSAD. Listening to his words and his silences one can forget for a moment that the best intelligence cannot cover up the failing policies of the bosses.

[Question] Nine years ago this week, after the report of the Agranat Commission was published, Chief of Staff David Elazar was dismissed and you replaced him for 2 weeks, when Motta Gur was appointed chief of staff and you decided to give up your job as head of intelligence (AGM). After 4 years of Gur and 5 of Raful, the chief of staff is again replaced, and generals are retiring. Is it natural for senior generals to retire when a new chief of staff is appointed?

[Answer] I did not leave the IDF because I was not appointed chief of staff. No one told me I was going to get that job. Moshe Dayan had clearly indicated to me immediately after the Yom Kippur War that he was putting me in charge of military intelligence but that I was not his candidate for chief of staff. There was another reason: I did not think I could work harmoniously with Gur, and since I was going to stay for a long time with intelligence I did not consider it beneficial for the IDF after that war to have discord between the chief of staff and his second-in-command.

As for the main question: Senior positions in the IDF, including the chief of staff, often have the happy circumstances of more than one candidate, although it is not common to have three candidates, each with his advantages and limitations.

[Question] Is it natural for the chief of staff to demand that the generals who competed with him for the job retire?

[Answer] I do not recall a situation like this, when someone was asked to retire. I find it difficult to remember a case where the new chief of staff asked that the other candidate retire. In some instances the person himself drew his conclusions and left. This invariably was a loss, because the candidates are the most senior and experienced officers. I am not talking about the present situation. I know the three candidates quite well. Two of them from a long service together in the paratroopers and Yanush mostly since the Yom Kippur War. I am not saying that if they stayed on it would be bad, but if they themselves decide at that point that they cannot stay on and do their best, they should draw their own conclusions and leave.

[Question] Do you agree with the view that the intelligence chief should not regard harmonious relations with the chief of staff as the most important criterion?

[Answer] No, I do not believe that disharmony is ideal. The intelligence chief should think independently and be able to express his opinions, but not at the expense of the relations. I saw Aharon Yariv for a long time as intelligence chief. He was his own man, but also had excellent relations with the chief of staff and the minister of defense. When he disagreed, he insisted he was right. The measure of the intelligence chief is his ability to voice his views despite his good relations with his partners.

[Question] In other words, you do not believe in giving in?

[Answer] I am talking about the principle. I do not wish to talk about Sagi and what he said to the commission, or the Lebanon War in general. I had many occasions to see how he disagreed with his superiors, including during government sessions. He mostly disagreed with the chief of staff and sometimes with the minister of defense. I think we owe it to him to point this out.

[Question] You yourself did not have intelligence background when you were switched from the number two job in the IDF to the highest civilian job in the intelligence community...

[Answer] As the head of the MOSSAD I did not consider myself the intelligence chief of the State of Israel. I gave intelligence assessments based on the data I had gathered and internal discussions in our system. Anyone who comes from the outside needs a year to a year and a half before he can assess what he is told within his own system and be sure of what he says himself. When one gets a clear message, you don't have to be a genius in order to make use of it and transmit it. But in an area where there are many different interpretations, there are disagreements. The head of military intelligence cannot play a passive role, accepting something as a fait accompli and repeating it. This is a lengthy process and a rather complex system. In terms of research, military intelligence is immeasurably superior to the MOSSAD, since the MOSSAD was not created for that purpose, and its research unit was only created after the Yom Kippur War. In my time, the main concern of the MOSSAD was data-gathering and operations, not assessment.

[Question] In other words, you came to the MOSSAD with the clear idea that you would only play second fiddle in the intelligence area.

[Answer] Yes, definitely, in the area of intelligence assessment.

[Question] You were surprised, 3 years later, that Begin did not replace you after he came to power?

[Answer] Yes. It was natural, as it is in other Western democracies, that the heads of intelligence and security be replaced when the government changed. Begin acted in the interest of the state and left Avraham Ahituv as head of the SBK (General Security Service) and me as head of the MOSSAD. The appointments that followed us were also done on the basis of state interests, as best I can tell.

[Question] Why is it natural for the heads of the services to be replaced? Is it because of their loyalty to their previous bosses, or because of different views?

[Answer] Different views. The head of the CIA in the U.S. cannot be a Republican when the president is a Democrat. Bush had to leave the CIA when Carter became president. There was no doubt he would not be retained.

[Question] What is the line of conscience beyond which the heads of the MOSSAD and the military intelligence must resign?

[Answer] This is not a political question. A situation like this happens when you see a catastrophe about to occur. You yell and you yell and no one listens. You then reach the conclusion it is better that you remove yourself from sharing the responsibility. But we should bear in mind that the intelligence chief is not part of the decision-making body, but a civil servant. Thus, even after a change of government, if he is trusted, he may stay on the job and his opinion is heard but not always accepted.

[Question] Since you served 8 years without resigning, one may deduce that you did not expect a catastrophe or that you did not yell.

[Answer] I am not going to talk about the actual subject of Lebanon.

[Question] Is the extent of losses a valid consideration before going to war and determining its success?

[Answer] Yes, but not the first consideration, when we deal with an all-out war in which the fate of Israel is in the balance, such as the Yom Kippur War, or when the public feels that the fate of the state is at stake, albeit this may not be true objectively, as in the Six Day War. The desire to reduce the losses and act according to the Egyptian deployment in the Sinai affected in 1967 the decision-making process and increased the pressure of the general staff on the government to act as early as possible. In a limited preplanned campaign the losses should definitely be considered.

[Question] According to this criterion, did...

[Answer] I will not talk about the actual case of Lebanon.

[Question] Why do you choose to remain silent on this issue?

[Answer] I was involved in the decision-making process. I expressed certain opinions which I am not prepared to voice in public. The question of the losses is not the only issue. It is much more complex than that, and I cannot dwell on what I thought and what I said.

[Question] Are you in favor of forbidding former intelligence people from speaking out?

[Answer] The law forbids not only the former chief of the MOSSAD but also any other civil servant from divulging information obtained on the job without prior authorization. There is no need here for further legislation. When Isser Harel wanted to publish a book on the kidnapping of Eichmann, he had to go through a lengthy and tiring process of a ministerial committee which eventually authorized the publication. This matter was burst wide open in recent years, not necessarily by intelligence people but by people in political roles, such as Rabin, Ezer and Dayan, but I do not think the license was justified. The damage was done. The books reveal certain relations which are officially recognized as such. Such revelations backfired and hit us. Even if some of the data was published before, there is a difference between a paper article by a reporter and an official confirmation--I was in such and such a place, I met with such and such. I believe the damage was rather extensive.

[Question] You were not included in the decision if and what to publish?

[Answer] Not always. I should have been included in topics that concerned us. Sometimes I expressed my opinion and I prevented damage. My only public statement to the press while in office was after the attack on the nuclear reactor. The damage was done, and if people kept talking, the damage would have been greater. I drew criticism, but the shock did turn things in the direction I wanted them to turn.

[Question] It is known that you were very angry with the words of the Foreign Minister, Dayan, about the ties with Ethiopia only 2 days after you asked paper editors not to publish anything on that subject.

[Answer] I don't know what Dayan's exact intention was when he said what he said then in Switzerland. I am sure he had no intention of doing any harm. But he was not given to slips of the tongue. Relations with Israel and the Falasha issue were immediately harmed. I also reacted to things he said in Egypt, in a different content about another place he had visited. I had written to him and to the prime minister. Dayan was very hurt, but I believed it was precisely the difference between a reporter's statement on where Dayan went and what he did, and a direct confirmation from Dayan. This does not only affect the people you met with, whom you happen to mention, but also future candidates who can only be reached after supreme efforts. Many times they risk their lives by making contact with us, even before we reach the talking stage. Exposure can lead to an attack. I am sorry to say that in recent years we have harmed

ourselves because of the excessive talk and books. I am not in favor of publishing books dealing with the inner workings of the MOSSAD, such as Harel's books. This privilege should not be reserved for the head of the MOSSAD. When is the chief allowed to do it and not the other people who took part in the operation described in the book? Indeed people have written, and have started a debate among the different versions, and the system was hurt. The question is where do you draw the line. Some things are better left unsaid and some things are fit for legends. In my opinion, one should not react to the various versions voiced in public, whether negative or laudatory. Keeping things in doubt provides a tremendous advantage. Many times inaccurate things were written about us, even hurtful things. Many times things were attributed to us which we had never done, while many things we did were never made known and may never become known as indeed they shouldn't. Many times I was approached by people who said they had a good reporter who wanted to rectify things for us, but I refused to cooperate. Partially, the image of the MOSSAD as the representative of the Israeli intelligence community--since many times we get credit which belongs to other services, even to the IDF, such as the capturing of the Egyptian radar on the Gulf of Suez--gives the system a tremendous advantage. It creates a myth and confuses the other side, who then does not know what to expect. This is of prime security and intelligence importance.

When journalists write about it, it is often unfounded, although there may be a grain of truth, since not everything you do can be kept secret. This is more tolerable to me than things written by inside people, even if we deal with big things, even fantastic things. When one feels the itch--why is it all held inside and no one on the outside knows about it--one should not be seduced by it, even years later.

[Question] How many people know about the fantastic things of the MOSSAD? Five or ten?

[Answer] In some instances, many dozens. The problem is not inside the MOSSAD but outside, on the political level, where people in recent years have shown a tendency to write and publish.

[Question] Did the habit of the political level to leak out information prompt you to consider limiting information sent upstairs?

[Answer] Absolutely not. You have to warn in every way possible against letting out information. But intelligence is not your private property and it is your duty to pass it on to the authorized people. You may be able to limit the number of the recipients, but it is strictly forbidden to keep any thing to yourself because you think someone may say something. This is not a consideration in my decision to pass information on to my superior, the prime minister. It is definitely a consideration in assessing the sensitivity of the material transmitted either orally or in writing, the exposure of which may cause damage or destroy sources. This was exactly the backdrop for my objection to the idle talk following the attack on the Iraqi reactor.

[Question] Is the structure of the intelligence community and the accountability of its heads (MOSSAD and Security Services to the prime minister, military intelligence to the minister of defense) which were determined when one man served in both capacities still adequate for the needs of Israel today?

[Answer] I think the situation today is much better than it was. There are checks and balances. By splitting the accountability of the intelligence head under different ministerial levels, Ben-Gurion acted wearing two hats, but the split since Eshkol served as prime minister and Dayan as defense minister, except for the short period when Begin did both jobs, is much healthier. In the future, too, the MOSSAD and the Security Services should be under the prime minister. This is good in terms of democracy, and also for the reason you mentioned before, lest the head of military intelligence may not have his own opinion and he might express the opinions of his superior. The same problem exists in regard to the heads of the MOSSAD and the Security Services vis-a-vis their superiors. But at least all three are not under one person. In a democratic society it is good for the intelligence community not to be under one person.

[Question] How do you feel about the suggestion which was made when Sharon did not get the defense minister portfolio and wanted a substitute in the form of a portfolio for intelligence and security services in the prime minister office?

[Answer] This is not a good idea. In the present arrangement, the defense minister has ministerial responsibility for military intelligence, along with the other bodies under his control, and there are two other main services directly accountable to the prime minister and have direct contact with him. In a country like ours there is no room for a barrier in the form of a services minister. It has a jarring sound.

[Question] To follow your line of thinking, you also support the separation of the leadership of the MOSSAD and the Security Services which has been in effect since Harel resigned in 1963?

[Answer] There is no question about it. I am happy to say that we have achieved excellent cooperation between the two services which are parallel but not identical, and to be in charge of each of one separately is more than a full time job. One can, of course, put someone in charge of both heads, but I do not think there should be a barrier between the two services and the prime minister.

[Question] You have said that there was magic in the term "head of the MOSSAD" before you got the job. When you got it, did you love it?

[Answer] I definitely did. It is a world in itself. A most varied job.

[Question] Does he give you power?

[Answer] The problem is not the power attributed to the job. You do not control anything, except your own system, in which you can do things better or not so good. The question is how you run the system and how it functions. I don't think you can talk of the MOSSAD in terms of power. It does not scare anyone, on the inside, that is. Things carry weight because of the way the body works, the responsibility of the staff which is a good human structure, above the average in terms of normal bodies.

[Question] The anonymity of the activities of the MOSSAD staff provides a protection for them when they should be accountable to the public for their failures.

In such instances people who are visible in the army or the government may be punished, while their colleagues in the MOSSAD benefit from their anonymity.

[Answer] I don't think this is a correct statement. In the last case the head of the MOSSAD was also put under scrutiny. Even the Agranat Commission said something about the MOSSAD and its head back then. One does not hide behind anonymity.

[Question] The fact is that the chapter about the MOSSAD and its head in the Agranat Commission report is quite serious, according to rumor, but it remained protected, while the officers and the ministers, even those who were not dismissed by order of the commission, remained in the public consciousness connected to the Agranat report.

[Answer] The chapter was not open to the public, but it was open to the commission. If personal conclusion had been reached, the commission would have made them known. Today there is even a stricter ongoing ministerial supervision through the subcommittee for intelligence services of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. I was in favor of it, not in favor of the original definition of control, but in principle, there should be control. This does not refer to reporting things before the fact, as has been the case in recent years in the intelligence committees of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. This is mainly control of doing and failing to do, budget, use of means, as well as the economic control of the State Controller, who goes after the system without interfering in operations. Basically, beyond all the control systems, the direct accountability to the prime minister, who is busy in many different areas, requires a person who can be relied on--in every possible way, not only in terms of his ability--for the job of head of the MOSSAD. If you go back to a previous question, about work relations with the present prime minister, despite our different background, I felt, even beyond things he had said in public after the slandering of the reactor affair, that he trusted me.

[Question] He was actually prepared for you to stay on for a ninth year. In the farewell ceremony he offered you to stay on "one or two years and we would leave together."

[Answer] He did not offer or ask me, but said in my presence that if I wanted to he would leave me in my job. I wanted to leave a year earlier, but as it turned out I stayed on for another year.

[Question] The timing of your retirement, in early September 1982, was accidental? In retrospect it seems perfect timing, at least for you, a few days before the assassination of Bahir Jumayyil and the massacre in the refugee camps.

[Answer] I wanted to leave on 1 September. This was the time chosen for my replacement. Later on, for technical reasons, I agreed with my successor that I leave on the 12th, because a certain trip I had to take had to be done while I was still on the job. Had I known that the Lebanon War would end in a matter of weeks I would have delayed my retirement. I left because I felt that the war would go on for a long time and I did not wish to drag out the transfer of

command. I cannot personally judge whether I did not stay too long on the job, but in general it is not so healthy to stay on. This is true about most jobs, and especially about this job. One cannot innovate year after year, and I am not referring to views or assessments, but to operations.

[Question] In recent years the highest jobs in the defense system have been occupied by alumni of the paratrooper units of the fifties--Ariq Sharon, Motta Gur, Raful, you, and Moshe Levi. It is hard to sense a feeling of camaraderie or closeness among you. Why? Did only the most ambitious people join that force at the time? What happened inside that competitive group?

[Answer] I don't know. I joined that group at a relatively late time, before the Sinai Campaign. I was not one of them during the reprisal raids period. I was brought in as a brigade second-in-command when the paratroopers regiment became a brigade. I was at the time in command and staff. Dayan, who was at the time lieutenant colonel, summoned me and I almost fell off the chair when I heard his offer. He needed someone to help Ariq with his work. I am not quite sure how he got to me. I did not know Ariq well, I hadn't worked with him before. I hesitated for 2 or 3 minutes and then agreed. When Ariq was replaced with Aviram I went back to my studies and rejoined the paratroopers years later as a brigade commander until Raful came to replace me. So all in all I did not work with all those officers for a long time. I don't believe Raful and I or Motta and I ever had a personal fight. We had differences of opinion and a different style. But the fact is, people keep going over the wars of the paratroopers. I do not believe, by the way, that all those who followed us had the same problem. I don't know how to explain it. Of course we were ambitious, not necessarily in a negative sense. We wanted to do more.

[Question] Did it occur to you at the time that 25 years later you would work again side by side, at time one against the other, in the most senior jobs?

[Answer] The only one who said at the time that he would be chief of staff one day--this is what I heard quoted, I never heard it directly from him--was Gur. Not too many company commanders say they will be chief of staff. Most of us at the time were removed from the top brass of the IDF. What Sharon thought or felt I do not know. We did not talk about it.

[Question] You were head of the operations division in the Six Day War, head of the Northern Command in the Yom Kippur War, head of the MOSSAD for 8 years. It is hard to believe the challenge of the Electric Company is similar to the war between the north and the south.

[Answer] As head of the MOSSAD I did not command troops in war, but I had satisfaction from my work. I did not have to leave. I was fulfilled. I have now started a new chapter, with new challenges. I am not stamping my feet with impatience and frustration.

[Question] What do you think of John Le Carre, who invents stories from the area of your previous occupation and Israel in general?

[Answer] I don't know what he wants from us. There was an anti-Israel campaign before the Lebanon War. The war gave him further impetus, and it is too bad he joined that campaign. I don't know him. I know his books. His books are fiction compared to real events. What I have seen in our own actions far surpasses everything he writes about in his book.

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PROMINENT FIGURES RELATE FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCES WITH WEST BANK

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[Article by Guga Qogen: "To Know the West Bank from the Inside; Yehuda Litani Was Spokesman of the Military Government, Tsvi Barel Was Deputy Governor of Hebron, Both Joined the Press and Became Severe Critics of Israeli Policy in the Territories; Along with Rafiq Halabi and Dani Rubinstein They Describe the West Bank as Known to Media People"]

[Text] The real war for the future of the State of Israel, its political, economic and moral character, is taking place on the West Bank. Some of what has been happening there has reached the news, and some has remained unknown, either for security reasons or in order not to be put to shame before the world. But there is a group of people in Israeli press which plays the part of the witness who makes every effort to bring to the attention of the public what takes place in another planet, only a few miles from our homes. What has happened to the "territories reporters" since the day we broke through the lines of the Arab Legion and reached the Jordan? Has the stormy reality, emotionally loaded, giving rise to extreme opinions, influenced their judgment and changed views and positions? Why are they all critical of the situation there and do not accept the "enlightened regime" that we have been attempting to introduce there? Why don't they consider the Village League a moderate element that will break the circle of hostility around us? Most important, has life there turned them into confirmed pro-Palestinians?

Yehuda Litani: I Stood in the Same Place--Reality Moved On

Yehuda Litani, now HA'ARETZ's political editor, began his journalistic career in the Territories as a member of the establishment. He was the spokesman of the military government. Trained as a Middle East expert, he had served in the intelligence, and the reality of the West Bank "appealed to me and I went there."

Since 1972 he has been reviewing the West Bank, but he says the Palestinian question was sharpened for him while abroad, when he stayed in New York and became acquainted with Palestinian poet Husayn. "When I was a spokesman," he says, "the attitude toward the local population was patronizing and based on the assumption that one can find moderate elements who are willing to cooperate for the welfare of the inhabitants." He thinks in the early years after the

Six Day War there were moderate recognized leaders who sought a solution. He includes among them Anwar Nusaybah, Hikmat al-Misri and Ali al-Ja'bari. But this is not the main issue.

"After the Six Day War we entered the heart of the Palestinian problem and cut short the Jordanization process which was then in full swing. The residents of the West Bank considered themselves Jordanians and we came and revived the Palestinian problem and gave it new impetus. This process culminated in 1974, when Husayn, at the Rabat Conference, was forced to turn the West Bank over to the PLO."

At the same time, says Litani, a shift to the right took place in Israel when Qiryat Arba' was founded and the race for the running of the West Bank started. Not only were positions changed, but the language also changed. The term Judea and Samaria replaced the term "administered territories."

Litani, who was in favor of a Jordanian solution and a partition, suddenly found himself on the left side of the political spectrum. He even had to fight the new language, since it determined people's thought. "In my writing I had to check every word, since the editors did not pay attention to the difference between territories and Judea and Samaria. To me it was essential."

Hebron Will Resemble Belfast

In Litani's opinion, the extent of the atrocities committed in the territories cannot be reported because not every action can be documented. The curtain of silence is tightly drawn around many bloody incidents, including the attack that resulted in the crippling of the mayors. His vision has sharpened immeasurably since his early years in the area, and he has learned to discern the process he calls the "Belfastization of the West Bank." The process breeds militants on both sides. Citing the Algerian war or the grim reality of Ireland, he envisions what is in store for us. Yigal Alon and Galili started the settlements in an attempt to change the map. The Likud worsened the problem through massive settlement. But Litani believes that despite all the settlement activity there is no way we can escape negotiations on the West Bank. "The harder we make it, the harder we make it for ourselves. Just as we Jews were in 1948 the conscience of the world, the West Bank is today the conscience of the world. They won't leave us alone, we will not be able to run away from it."

You want to cause the Arabs to leave the West Bank? Litani shrugs. "It is known today that for every home built today for Jews in Eastern Jerusalem (not East Jerusalem--beware of semantics!) another Arab family is added in the area. Most of the construction workers come from Hebron, and with all the immigration to the oil countries, there has been no drastic change in the demographic balance. Ironically, during the Jordanian regime there was more emigration from the West Bank because of the strict laws and the forced Jordanization. Now half of the residents of Jerusalem are from Hebron and their number has nearly doubled, which did not happen with the Jews."

Where Are the Moderates?

"Our task today," says Litani, "is not to find the moderates but to recognize reality. This reality rejects the Milson theory outright, since most of the residents, who are the heart of the Palestinian people, considers the PLO their leader." "Not so nice?" he says, "well, I cannot force them to see it differently. Sociological studies all over the world show that you cannot force leaders on people. In the end the whole thing collapses. The same experiment as the Village Leagues was made in Algeria in 1958 and did not work out. De Gaulle realized it was a lost cause."

The attempts to create new leadership through the Village Leagues, he maintains, are doomed to fail, despite the publicized meetings. They have no public backing. The main reason for their failure is the fact that they are strictly opportunists, "whom we should fear more than the PLO. The latter clearly state their plans. You may or may not agree with them. The Leagues' people don't tell you what they want, and as Yanai said to Shlomozion, beware of the hypocrites. The residents of the West Bank consider Dudin a traitor. He helped the Egyptians in the Gaza Strip and the Jordanians during the Black September period, when he was a minister in the Jordanian government. Even the moderates despise him. The most negative elements have been drawn to him, waiting to take the reins of leadership. But despite the money invested in them, no one wants them. I know it, because I have spoken to everyone in the West Bank."

"The same Jews who help them, who push them, are in effect contributing to the deterioration process. They give legitimacy to the right, which dictates the moves and creates a reality even the Leagues oppose. They are not going anywhere. The pendulum is swinging to the right and I have seen the despicable things done in the name of the Milsonian idea. I therefore reject it."

"Milson says I am a Dayanist, because I am for non-intervention in their lives. But, in effect, his policy is designed to do the very same thing with their lives, only the name is different. Dayan spoke of Nusaybah and Ja'bari and considered them leaders. At least they were recognized as such. Milson wants to put in power other people and it won't work since they are not leaders, nor are they about to become such."

Landscape Is Longing for a Villa

Litani is most irate over the second wave of the West Bank settlers, those who dream of a villa in a beautiful landscape with fresh air without Arabs. "Give them a villa, quiet, a road crossing Samaria so that they don't have to see Arabs, those fleas, and they will be happy." They make him angry more than anyone else, since they have no consideration for the place and do not believe in anything. Yesterday they were in Yamit and today they are on the West Bank. He therefore believes that when the moment of truth arrives, as it must, under strong American pressure, there will be no escaping a civil war with the extremists among us, those who believe that the entire country belongs to them.

The "villa settlers" will accept generous compensation and will leave without making problems. Any other solution, which will not be similar to the Alon Plan, is useless. Without painful surgery we won't get anywhere. "I am for the Jordanian solution, which may assuage the Palestinian problem, but today it is no longer feasible. Our sages rule in such a case 'to divide.' I would be glad to return to the landscape of Shilo without Arabs, but I know it's impossible, because the national and religious conflict has become most serious. We are poles apart. We try to impose a Jewish point of view, and it won't work. No way."

Rafiq Halabi: I See My Father with the Donkey

There is no need to introduce Rafiq Halabi. Everyone knows him from his work in television and the war against him by some people in the establishment. Halabi has now returned from England, where a T.V. movie was shown regarding reality in the territories from his standpoint.

"I went to review the West Bank immediately after 1973. From 1967 to 1970 I served as assistant to Teddy Kollek for East Jerusalem affairs and I did not feel the full impact of the physical violence related to the problem as I felt it later in the West Bank. In 1948 I was 2 years old, and in the Six Day War there were no outbursts of violence. I saw with my own eyes things which people won't believe are taking place there. You know what my tragedy is? Since I have been in television I have the feeling that the public refuses to believe that an occupation is an occupation, and that there is no enlightened occupation. The public does not know it. Only the young soldiers who fight against stones know it. But most of them have come to accept it and are not surprised by it. They no longer understand that the violence is the result of oppression, mistreatment and degradation. Nor does the public understand the meaning of the settlements, because it does not know what it means to take away land from a farmer."

Halabi is not emotional and he keeps smiling. He tries to explain what has affected him so much in visiting the territories. "First of all, the feeling of a member of an ethnic minority in a majority society, who sees how it treats minorities and who cannot afford the luxury of thinking, 'This will not happen to me.' Suddenly I recall the old plans of expelling the Druze from Mount Carmel, when Rommel was approaching Palestine and they wanted to turn the Carmel into a Massada. I knew about Druze villages which we have destroyed and I grew up in a Zionist home, because my father admired Ben-Gurion and even helped the Haganah..."

"Then I saw how gradually the PLO supporters were taking power. And if Shaq'ah is PLO, then one can sleep with the PLO at night in the same room because they are not so terrible. I began to learn about the Arab nationalist movement before the establishment of the State of Israel, and I tried to draw analogies and look at things in perspective. Each time I found out that the same thing had happened before, in a different form. There is a past analogy for everything--the struggle for Jewish labor, the land issue, the struggle of the farmers against the city. I saw the corruption of the military government and governors, some of whom were fired. The worst elements were put in power.

"I saw how Israeli society lost its sanity on the issue of the settlements and how two judicial systems were created--one for Jews and one for Arabs. When I saw how land was expropriated in Rogev, near Alon Moreh, I suddenly saw my father with his donkey. My father lived in a place like Tarqumiyah or other villages on the West Bank, and I realized this could happen to us, because the green line is not a permanent barrier. They told me, 'You live well.' But if the small Jewish majority is going to rule the majority of Arabs in this way, we may end up with apartheid which will affect me as well. All this affected me until I left the television. Papu said that I was a nationalist Arab, as if I have to justify myself to him..."

Despairing of Dialogue

In his living room, Halabi is surrounded by pictures dedicated to him by well-known artists. In the other room his two daughters play around a Syrian stove. "Dayan said in 1967 that he wants the Arabs to be able to live and die without needing an Israeli official. Eshkol did not want large territory, he wanted peace. Dayan played political games and wanted a dialogue. So did Peres and Weizman. Since Ariq Sharon, the most difficult thing to accept is that Israelis run the big towns, Gaza, al-Birah, Nablus. This is annexation. Now they fight for Hebron and the government decides everything for them. The government has given up the dialogue.

"Labor faltered in its day, and the collapse began with Qaddum. If Peres and Rabin had not fought and the latter had removed Qaddum, things would have turned out different. The other mistake of Labor was that Jews and Arabs could live side by side in Hebron. Labor did not believe one could reach a solution, even with Jordan. Now no leader wants to take responsibility for the West Bank or face confrontation.

"The Village Leagues? This is a joke. Some of the leaders have a shady past. Jamil al-Khatib has a file about to be reopened because he beat up someone. Nasir's file related to a murder case is being reopened because he has turned his back on them. Milson was thinking of the model of rural bourgeoisie dating back to the British Mandate, which came in contact with the Jewish leadership, but it didn't work. To look for moderates among the villagers is nonsense. The Arab Revolt was led by Arab villagers. A large percentage of those arrested for terrorist activities are rural rather than urban people. In the end they will exploit each other, Israel the Leagues and vice versa. This is what it is all about, because they have no public backing. To argue that they will save Israel from the PLO is not logical. This period is over on the West Bank. Now there is tremendous educational, cultural and economic progress, and the moment the Leagues become an important autonomous power they will get rid of them. I am not optimistic about the future of the territories and I find it difficult to believe this is happening to the Israelis. This totally contradicts the theories of a persecuted people determined not to allow others to suffer, and to do only what is necessary to ensure its existence.

"We have reached a critical point. Things are getting worse every day. The explosion is near."

Tzvi Barel: Tzvi Barel, who has replaced Litani as HA'ARETZ's reporter in the territories, came here directly from the establishment. He was deputy governor of Hebron and later served as spokesman of the military governor. He worked with the foreign press until he landed in HA'ARETZ, and in writing about the West Bank he bases his criticism on a deep knowledge of the area. What has happened to this man, who a few years ago held the stick or commanded those who dispersed demonstrations and helped make decisions which influenced most of the population in the territories? "At that time, when I was deputy governor, it was a different atmosphere. We also had demonstrations, stones and wounded, but there were less casualties and there was a balance between the use of sticks and making things easier for the population. One morning I dispersed a demonstration and by 10 o'clock I met with the mayor and we discussed the current business. There was a clear distinction between the stone-throwers and the rest of the public and its leaders. The Arabs accepted it too. They knew we took care of the disruptive students, but the entire community did not have to suffer because of it. There was no such thing as collective responsibility." He goes on, objectively, without nostalgia: "During the first 10 years of the military government we tried to remain the executive body. Whenever there were problems beyond our authority--even the choosing of punishment which had international repercussions--we turned to the political level for an approval. As long as the military government knew its limits the balance was kept, and the system worked in both directions. The public knew whom to turn to and the military authorities knew whom to turn to. There was a clear frame of reference and the military authorities did not have to do political work.

"In 1978 we had the big change, not only in the government but also in the military administration, even before the civilian administration was established (in 1981). When Prof Milson arrived in the West Bank as a consultant he considered himself the standard bearer of the anti-Dayani policy. He argued that Dayan, with his non-intervention policy, had in effect created the PLO. Hence it is necessary to switch to a policy of intervention. It is important to point out that the change of policy did not come from the minister of defense but was effected by an official who came with a political conception and was guided by it. This policy led in the end to the forming of the Village Leagues and the dismissal of most of the mayors. It destroyed the political infrastructure which he considered PLO-dominated, ruled out any dialogue with it and now boasts of doing away with the PLO in the territories." Barel smiles knowingly. "I worked with Milson for about a year, but he had surrounded himself with a small group of people and refused to look beyond them. I supported the 1976 elections and did everything I could to make sure a large number of candidates was running. About 80.6 percent were eligible to vote in these elections, because we had changed the voting age and allowed women to vote. We did it because we wanted the population to have a voice. The problem was, Milson arrived after those elections and we lost our momentum. I had long talks with Qawasmah. He was willing to cooperate, and even when he was a member of the National Guidance Committee, he worked with the administration. Had it not been for our own blindness, we could have worked with them. I think that if we talk about breaking the power of the PLO that was the way to do it."

The Dudin Illusion and the Village Leagues

Rafiq Halabi remembers Tzvi Barel, when he used to invite him as television reporter to photograph the breaking up of a demonstration or the arrest of stone-throwers. Hence his words about the political map in the territories sound like coming from another world. "One should understand that there is no leadership other than the PLO, because if one considers that population and its aspirations, it is not capable of recognizing another leadership. Especially in light of the PLO's successes all over the world, in every remote corner of the world; they see the PLO as successful in bringing the problem to the attention of every foreign ministry, in every corner of the world. People like Dudin cannot do this. It's an illusion. In my opinion, Dudin and the Village Leagues are very clever. They are using Israel for their own personal interest. They are quite unimportant in their own community, because they were set up by Israel."

"Then what about the conferences attended by thousands of people?" I ask.

"The size is not important," says Barel. "You can easily bring to any meeting 2 thousand people from the same clan. What of it? In Hebron they have 300 registered members, in a region of 160,000 people. Ilya, the present head of the civilian administration, claims they have 70,000 people registered there. You know how they arrive at such figures? Simple, the Leagues received many powers which were before in the hands of the administration, such as granting exit permits to Jordan, special licenses etc. Anyone who wants an exit permit pays a thousand shekels. For a villager this is a large sum of money. When the same permit was given by the administration he paid at most 1300 liras. Thus a mediating body was created which collects money. So they show the receipts as if they are registered in the Village Leagues. The fact that they are registered does not mean that they accept the Leagues as a representative body."

"One should be aware of two facts: a) The villages were never a political base, the power is centered in the cities; b) One cannot form a bond with those who bear Israeli weapons, and the fact is that in several instances the Leagues wanted to return the weapons, because it singled them out in the eyes of the public; c) The Leagues' people used their position for creating tensions in every village they entered; they did not enter a single village without blows and coercion."

Known Figures

Tzvi Barel wishes to explain that his opposition to the Leagues is not the result of fanaticism, but of direct observation after daily contact with events in the area.

He once believed the Leagues could serve as a political catalyst, "but I know those figures, and they are not politicians. Jamil Amala began as a ra'is, Dudin is an old fox whose political career takes him everywhere and wherever he goes he is found to be corrupt. When he came in 1977 from Jordan he was pushed

aside, but he was able to sell himself to Colonel Yigal Carmon (Prof Milson's deputy). Muhammad Nasri has his share of shady deals. They are not part of the political scene. When you remove their Israeli connection they can do nothing, and they know it. One cannot build leadership in one day, you have to do it gradually, it has to do with recognition, with clans etc. Their weakness is the fact that Israel is their partner. They represent everything the public hates--power, office, coercion. Those who have created them believed that they could attract the rest of the leadership, but this did not happen. Some sort of a charity organization was created, doling out favors, subsidized to the tune of 40 million shekels used as operating budget plus the funds accrued from the permits. If we take the 70,000 figure Ilya spoke of, and multiply it by 10 dinars, we reach a very substantial sum.

"I would be willing to recognize the Leagues as a representative body if they ran in West Bank elections. The absurdity of the whole thing is that the Arabs in the West Bank arrived at democracy through our occupation, and through conflict learned all about self-determination. On the other hand, we are trying to impose on them a structure created by us and expect them to legitimize it."

Dani Rubinstein: The Wailing Wall on the West Bank

Rubinstein, DAVAR reporter in the territories, is a native of Jerusalem who studied Arabic as a child and received a B.A. in Middle East studies. He grew up as a MAPAI follower and continues to adhere to this party's line.

His viewpoint regarding the West Bank is seen in a simple fact: "During the early years, from the Six Day to the Yom Kippur Wars, a week did not go by without my taking a trip with a visitor or an Israeli personality, usually a minister, to the West Bank. Dayan and Alon used to go as guests of the municipalities. With Dayan it was a routine. I recall a speech by Abba Eban in Arabic in Hebron. Almogi went there when they opened centers for vocational training. Sason, the minister of police, went to the Old City to see the Supreme Islamic Council. Shlomo Hilel spoke in good Arabic in Qalqilya. Even the commerce Minister of the Likud in the National Unity Government, Sapir, visited the soap factory of Shaq'a in Nablus and everyone was impressed with his Arabic. As a native of Petah Tiqva he spoke it better than Sephardic Jews.

"In those days people competed in making the most contacts in the West Bank. I am mentioning all of this in order to point out that since the present government came to power hardly any minister has visited the territories. There are three exceptions: Weizman visited a few times, as did Dayan. Ariq Sharon met Dudin twice. Begin only saw the West Bank people when Freij and al-Shawah came to plead that Qawasmah and Milhim not be expelled. Today's ministers travel through Nablus and Hebron as if those places were a wilderness on the way to the settlements.

"I am not the one who has changed. The mood in Israel has changed for the worse. Radically. In the Arab community the opposite is true. If in the past some Arab leaders refused to see me, today no one refuses. Arab nationalism has taken a few steps toward us, while Israeli nationalism has taken many steps

in the opposite direction. The public is polarized, and therefore I find myself today on the left, and I stick to my positions more and more as the polarization increases."

The Price Goes Up Daily

Rubinstein is read more on the West Bank than in Israel, so he says. Because of the censorship perhaps, or for other reasons, all his articles without exception are translated every day and published in the three newspapers of the West Bank. Every child in Hebron, Nablus and Ramallah knows his name. But of all the journalists, he is the most pessimistic about the prospects of a solution.

"The annexation takes on a character which is hard to change. Our entire economy is built on it, as is the IDF and the livelihood of thousands of families, not only the ones who live there. The price we would have to pay in order to evacuate the West Bank is going up daily. I am afraid that going back to the old borders cannot be done smoothly and will cause a national disaster which I don't know how we can overcome.

"I ask many people in the Likud who agree with me theoretically but who say 'we will live with it and rule them.' They know there will be stone throwing on the West Bank, but they dream of conditions which will chase the Arabs away. For example, intolerable economic conditions. Some think in more brutal terms; for example, Gush Emunim, who wants to send over to Jordan anyone who protests. A large part of the Likud thinks the solution will be the 'truck plan,' the expulsion of 200 thousand mentioned by Knesset Member Me'ir Cohen. The religious establishment in Israel has already found halahic justification for such a thing. It legitimizes all acts of discrimination, mistreatment and apartheid, including expulsion."

Who Is Representative?

The constant question remains, aren't the Village Leagues a moderate expression of the Palestinians and therefore should be supported?

Rubinstein answers without hesitation: "Why did Binyamin Ben-Eliezer (Fuad), who knew them as the commander of the West Bank and dealt with them, consider them a group of connivers? Anyone who knows them arrives at the same conclusion. There is no way, considering the reality of the West Bank, for a body appointed by the occupier, to represent the local population. Unfortunately, the Palestinians are today my enemy; yes, mine too. But we have to negotiate with them in order to arrive at a certain settlement. The Palestinians are not only the residents of the territories, but also an equal number of people living in Arab countries. We have to reach a representation of all of them. Even the Village Leagues do not pretend to represent the Palestinians in Lebanon. I certainly do not see them as such. This is a very traditional leadership, very local and very corrupt. It does not enjoy broad support.

"In the PLO too there are elements which from my standpoint are corrupt and evil. But at least, as I see it, they enjoy wide support. Milson regarded the PLO as the basis for everything and this is the big difference between us. I see the PLO not only as a military enemy but also an enemy with whom we can reach an agreement. The trouble with Milson's conception is that it pursues a Leagues-oriented policy which serves the policy of Sharon and Begin designed to annex the territories. Lately, when the Leagues started to show some initiative, they started to fight them like they are fighting the PLO.

"In essence, there is no Arab body which would agree to our permanent rule of the West Bank and to the land expropriations and settlements. Not even the Leagues. I am sorry to add that nobody would give up East Jerusalem either (it pains me to say it).

"I do not approach this matter from a moral standpoint. I look at it practically. I believe that as long as there is one stone left on the West Bank, it will be thrown and Jews will die. My son will have to serve in the army and chase 16 year old girls in Nablus, break into homes at night and live like an oppressive conqueror. This is the worst thing there is."

The Wailing Wall

"How is it that all those who cover the West Bank arrive at the same conclusions?" Rubinstein asks and anticipates my question, as if he has read my mind. "You must understand that one who has contacts with Arabs and treats them respectfully and humanely, becomes, in a matter of minutes, their wailing wall. Every day an Arab pleads with me, often with tears, about land taken away from him, about his son not being allowed to go to an Arab country to study, another son in jail unduly punished, or a widowed sister in Amman not allowed to come here etc. You cannot escape the feeling you are living under an oppressive rule and those people having real problems, no rights, and no one to turn to. They turn desperately to anyone they feel has influence with the government. You cannot take any other stand," Rubinstein concludes, "because you face those problems day after day, you see them with your own eyes. If you choose to be honest, you will admit that you cannot take any other stand, because the Arabs in the territories will not talk to you. And I am not sure what comes first, opinions or reality."

He smiles and adds, "Like that old man who just turned 100 has said, 'Reality determines the outlook.' This is how it is."

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CSO: 4423/119

RAQAH PARTY SEEN AS LOSING LOCAL ARAB SUPPORT

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 1 Apr 83 p 5

[Article by Qasim Ziyad: "Raqah in Decline; Raqah Loses Power in Arab Community; Arab Public Disappointed with Its Inability to Keep Promises"]

[Text] Raqah, which for many years was the main force in the Arab community, is beginning to lose its power.

The Arab community with its rich socio-political experience, realizes that Raqah cannot find a solution for its difficult and complex problems. The Arab Israeli public knows that Raqah can make noise without making any real gains. Anyone who is familiar with the Arab political map knows that Raqah is now dragging its feet and is even in retreat.

Raqah's progress was all but stopped in recent years. We no longer see mass joining of this party in large communities, which are its main strongholds, since conditions there are congenial for the strengthening of an opposition party, especially during the reign of the Likud. We do not hear about new people joining Raqah, not even the young who by nature are leftist. But it is also noticeable elsewhere, among Raqah's partners in the various national committees.

Partnership among Equals

It is no accident that most of the members of the national committee of the Arab local councils have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to form a joint monitoring committee for the committee and the Arab members of the Knesset, including the Alignment.

The attempts of Knesset Member Tawfiq Ziyad of Raqah to torpedo this move have failed, since most of his colleagues in the national committee opposed his proposal.

Those who supported the monitoring committee believe that the struggle for solving the problems of Israel's Arabs requires the establishment of a force that will unify the entire political spectrum of the Arab community, including those who can influence events and recruit democratic Jewish forces with

influence. They refuse to get excited over slogans like "Jewish democratic forces," when all it means is a handful of Jews close to Raqah.

This could be seen in the Shfar'am convention, when, during the drafting of the motions, which later became the resolutions, Labor Knesset Members Muhammad Watad and Hamid Halila took active part. The two, along with other members of the "formulation committee" at the convention, left their imprint on the resolutions. Thanks to them the convention was conducted in a calm and positive atmosphere. The participation of the Mapam center delegation in the convention also had a calming effect on the participants.

Also the refusal of the landowners in Umm el Fahm to lend to their struggle against the closing of their land by IDF forces a partisan political character exemplified the general attitude of the Arab Israeli public.

The delegation of landowners from Umm el Fahm which visited the Knesset 2 weeks ago realized that it cannot be taken by Raqah, since the party sought to make political gains from the landowners' suffering. The members of the delegation also met with Labor people, for they knew that only a large party like Labor can advance their cause.

It is no secret that the members of the delegation found support for this realization in their meeting with Raqah leaders, who told them that for their kind of struggle they needed a large body like the Alignment and [Raqah] can only be a supporting element in their struggle.

It seems that the resolutions of the Palestine National Council in Algiers were also a contributing factor to the fact that Arab Israeli leaders adopted a more moderate line. Many said to me, "Our situation is more comfortable now than in the past since the PLO leadership decided to adopt a more balanced line. It will be more difficult now for the Arab community to accuse us of collaborating with the authorities and the Zionist parties."

The Partners Became Rivals

The lust for power in the Arab local authorities worked against Raqah. The new Raqah council heads were no more effective than their predecessors. Raqah was successful in turning against itself the council workers and the coalition partners.

Raqah, which has demonstrated its thirst for power, used questionable methods which offended the council workers, its potential supporters. Raqah treated the council workers, including the teachers, with a strong hand, ignoring the slogans it had voiced before coming to power. In Nazareth the city stopped the teachers' strike by force and called the teachers terrorists.

Raqah's partners in the democratic front in the city, who walked out on Raqah a year ago, decided to conduct an uncompromising struggle against the ineffective administration. A publication issued by the Progressive Movement of Nazareth talks about cases of favoritism in the city.

Many of the local council workers in Umm al Fahm, under Raqah control, said to me, "This is the worst council we have ever seen." Many of those close to Raqah on the council decided to turn their backs on it, after they realized that Raqah slogans while in the opposition did not pass the test of reality.

In the election for the workers' committee of the local council 2 weeks ago Raqah lost out. Only one of the seven committee members elected is identified with Raqah. The new committee secretary is close to the Alignment. Raqah's partners in this village's coalition, second in size only to Nazareth and known as one of Raqah's strongholds, do not hide their disappointment over Raqah's dubious methods. A counterforce is being formed in this place, and its chances to win an election against Raqah are good.

It seems tha Raqah is aware of its difficult situation. Its decision to make its organ a daily newspaper may be an attempt to save its skin and improve its image in the Arab community. More about this later.

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OUTLAWING OF KAKH MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 3 Apr 83 p 6

/Article by Me'ir Bareli: "Better in the Open"/

/Text/ A campaign with little chance of success is being conducted to outlaw Me'ir Kahane's tiny party Kakh. Israeli society has good reasons not to make the party go underground, but the little chance of the struggle to outlaw this tiny group is not explained by the reasons expounded in this article, but by the feeling in the ruling party that while the Kahane party is going too far, it is going in the right direction. Many in the Herut show understanding towards extreme nationalistic elements, because they recall how the old regime saw them as extreme nationalists. Deputy Minister Dov Shilensky, who once got into trouble with the authorities because of extremist activities, is a good case in point, albeit not the only one.

In my humble opinion, a democratic regime should be allowed to outlaw a party which openly advocates destroying democracy. It can do it, but does not have to. The question is what is best for the safeguarding of democracy--having its opponents work openly or secretly. Outlawing does not put an opinion or a view or a group with a certain view or opinion out of business. It makes it go underground. It may be difficult to maintain a mass movement underground. But the question is not a mass movement. The halo of an underground may help such a group more than hamper it. It may be true that an organization which says that loyalty to the land of Israel is above petty considerations of democracy and majority decisions is an anti-democratic body. It is true that its argument that the majority does not understand and therefore persecutes the minority which does understand the mandate of Jewish history (or God) can only benefit from being outlawed. Anyone who wants to join Kakh will not hesitate to join because Kakh is outlawed.

By the way, what is true about Kakh is also true about Raqah. A party which follows the teachings of Lenin and his disciples is not loyal to democracy, even after the communists decided outwardly to espouse the term "democracy in Israel and elsewhere. There is no point in turning them into illegal martyrs either. It is better that they be shamed in public than prosper underground. Ditto Kakh.

Even when we say that the right to outlaw anti-democratic bodies should not be exercised, we should clarify our statement. Anti-democratic bodies are not

bodies which are necessarily seen by their rivals as anti-democratic. In our political system there is a tendency to mix up things, and anyone who disagrees with me is seen by me as anti-democratic. In order to be seen as anti-democratic one has to commit anti-democratic acts or preach the liquidation of democracy. In the case of Raqah one may harbor doubts, since its members do not act or preach against democracy, yet a communist party should be judged in light of its belonging to a world network of bodies whose disloyalty to democracy needs no proof.

It should be added a propos of these remarks that one ought to correct a mistake made by the former government. This is no practical reason for the State of Israel to outlaw naked Arab nationalism, as seen in the al-'Ard group, and push it into the arms of the communists. There may be a justification to outlaw groups which oppose the existence of Israel. The question is whether it pays for Israel to do it. It is better to have them work openly than under cover. Let them work separately rather than as part of Raqah. There is no reason to force Arab nationalists to work within the framework of Raqah with the communists. It is worth thinking about.

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PERPETRATORS OF SABRA, SHATILLA MASSACRE KNOWN, BUT NOT REVEALED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Apr 83 p 6

/Article by Merav Halpern: "Former Intelligence Chief Maj Gen (Ret) Gazit: Israel Has List of 10-20 Sabra-Shatilla Massacre Perpetrators; Why Aren't Israelis, Described in Inquiry Commission Report as Indirectly Responsible, Entitled to Know Who Is Directly Responsible? Whatever Commission Did Not Deal With, No One Will Deal With, and We Will Be Sorry"/

/Text/ "I know Israel has a list of 10-20 people (apparently Phalangists) who took part in the Sabra-Shatilla massacre. Why didn't the Commission of Inquiry, with all its power and authority, indicate in its report who committed this act? Why aren't Israelis, who are referred to in the report as bearing indirect responsibility, entitled to know who is directly responsible? It seems to me that behind the hiding of this fact there are political considerations," said Maj Gen (Ret) Shlomo Gazit, former head of Military Intelligence.

Gazit, now serving as president of Ben-Gurion University, spoke before a meeting of university alumni which took place in Be'er Sheva last week. He pointed out that while he was in favor of establishing the commission, he was worried by its finds, especially the things the commission chose not to deal with.

"Whatever the commission did not deal with, no one will deal with, and we will soon be sorry," said Gazit. "The important lessons were not learned. The report exposes immoral political considerations, revealing a weak government. The government did not have the courage to get rid of the guilty or of those responsible; it chose to hide behind the commission's report. The picture that emerges from the report shows a backward system of decision making. The crucial decisions in the last war were reached by a small group without including the Intelligence community which is normally entrusted with the most sensitive matters. I was shocked to learn that some fateful decisions were made on the phone, when it is well known that interested parties all over the world listen in all the time."

Gazit attacked the composition of the commission and its mode of work. He said that the commission became a judicial body that issued a sentence, some people became defendants and the sentence was carried out. "The commission should only have made recommendations. Governments receive many reports, some of which are shelved for good. This report was converted from a recommendation to an

Executive order and this was not the intention of the legislative body. The Commission's conclusions are very disturbing in regard to the future. They have created a most dangerous precedent. This is the first time people chose to be put on trial. When those who are wise after the fact put someone on trial because of their considerations, the red light should go on."

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'SONS OF VILLAGE' MEMBER DISCUSSES MOVEMENT POLICY, HARASSMENT

Jerusalem AL-FAJR AL-'ARABI in Hebrew 30 Mar 83 p 11

[Article: "'Sons of Village' Movement; 'Book Confiscating Regime Is Fascist; 'Umar Sa'id Is Arrested almost Every Month; 'Sons of Village' Movement Is a Socio-Political Movement Whose Political Views Resemble the Views of the Liberation Movement of the Palestinian People"]

[Text] Last week the police arrested 'Umar Sa'id, 23, of Kafr Kana in the Galilee on suspicion of inciting against the state. He was detained (as usual) for 48 hours and released without bail.

This is not the first time Sa'id was arrested. He cannot count his arrests, since nearly every month the police come and decide to search his parents' home and arrest him for 48 hours. 'Umar says sarcastically that the police are in love with him and therefore they arrest him.

'Umar is the son of a large family--17 brothers and sisters. His father and brothers were arrested on suspicion of belonging to a "hostile" group, but they were never put on trial. The government harasses the Sa'id family, but why? No one knows, but one view has it that they are not Zionist enough and refuse to conform, and are opposing the policies of the Israeli establishment.

'Umar was 17 when he joined the "Sons of the Village" movement. Before then he belonged to the communist youth movement (Raqah) but he does not wish to talk about that period in his life.

'Umar is bearded, and as he shows up each morning at the police station to sign in he says: "I started my political activity in elementary school. I saw Raqah as the only party protecting the interests of the Palestinian people inside the green line (and I still believe it to be the case). When I began my studies in high school I found out about other national movements, especially student organizations, and the discussions in those groups illuminated my political way and when I graduated high school I joined the "Sons of the Village" who had representatives in Arab villages, along with a few of my friends who left Raqah. We felt the need to bring the movement to our village of Kana." ('Umar refuses to talk about his belonging to the union of communist youth and why he left it).

"When we started our new political way we were very young, and we did not know how to reach our own people. After short intensive activity there was a retreat in our activities, since we did not have enough political experience. Theoretically and practically the retreat was natural, but because of our ties with the 'Sons of the Village' movement in other Arab communities, we remained on the political map. We learned a great deal from them and coordinated our political activities. Despite the help from other villages, our lack of

experience was reflected in spontaneous activities without prior planning or continuity, but despite the difficulties our small nucleus continued as a political body belonging to the 'Sons of the Village.'

"The 'Sons of the Village' movement is a socio-political movement whose political views are identical to the views of the liberation movement of the Palestinian people. The movement sees the Palestinian people within the green line as an inseparable part of the Palestinian people everywhere. The role of the movement is to deepen Palestinian awareness. Regarding the Palestinian problem, the movement maintains that the best solution for the problem is the establishment of a Jewish-Arab society on the soil of Palestine without discrimination or racism, a secular democratic state where Jews and Arabs will live as one people, with equal right and duties, without any relation to religion, race or sex."

[Question] The Israeli establishment argues that the movement calls on Jews who came to Israel after World War II to leave the country and return to the place where they came from. Is that true?

[Answer] This is a big lie, the cheapest kind of Zionist propaganda, designed to incite the Jewish community against the members of the movement and increase the hatred towards the local Arabs. This is a chauvinist fascist idea, which the members of the movement strongly oppose. The movement maintains that every person who lives here has the right to live in a reformed society which we strive to establish--Jewish and Arab.

'Umar gave an interview to an American paper this week, in which he told about the activities of the movement, and said about the activities of the police: "Our main struggle today is to survive against the attempts of the Israeli establishment to obliterate our national identity, and, of course, we also work against the expropriation of Arab lands and the Judaization of the Galilee. As part of the campaign to increase awareness of the policy of the Israeli government, the movement distributes leaflets, gives lectures in clubs, or in public gatherings and of course demonstrates. In order to succeed in such activities we have to be persistent and have follow-ups."

'Umar, who received his B.S. this year in biochemistry from Be'er Sheva' University, is under home arrest for the second time in 3 years. In his first year at the university he joined the Progressive National Movement (see AL-FAJR No. 6).

After he finished his studies he returned to his village, and after a consultation with the nucleus that remained of the "Sons of the Village" movement, it was decided to return to regular intensive political activity. After the Sabra and Shatilla massacre became known, they held a large demonstration in the village, and on the day of the demonstration the members of the movement decided to build a monument for the Palestinian victims. The next morning many young people gathered and built a monument for the Palestinian victims. The monument was built next to the monument in memory of the victim of the first Land Day (1976). "This was the first activity as a

renewed movement and of course we learned from the mistakes of the past. We matured and gained experience.

"After our ideological consolidation we decided to establish a party club, and we were able to create a model one."

'Umar speaks glowingly about the club and its role in educating the Palestinian youth to becoming politically and socially informed. "Our village, like all other Arab villages, is neglected and has no youth clubs, either government- or Histadrut-run. This is a deliberate policy. The youth finds himself on the street and in coffee houses and one of the main goals of the club is take youth away from the streets and the coffee houses. At the club they can have a social life.

"Many young people now frequent the club each day. They play ping pong, hear socio-political lectures, and many of them play chess. There are sports activities and a drama group, and the youngsters write and produce their own plays.

"Some students volunteer to help slow learners, and some help prepare high school seniors for their final exams."

Since the day the club at Kafr Kana opened its doors, the police have been after the members of the movement. Fifteen members were invited to the police station in Nazareth for questioning. There they were threatened with legal action or with the invoking of Mandatory laws. They were released without being brought to trial, since there were no charges.

Many high school students had joined the movement and were invited to the police station. Some of them were intimidated by the police threats and stopped attending the club. Those, however, were few. The majority ignored the threats and they continue to frequent the club.

As was mentioned before, 'Umar Sa'id shows up at the police station every morning.

Two weeks ago, after signing in with the police, he was taken by police car to Kafr Kana. He was told to open the club but said he did not have the key. The police broke the lock and searched the place, claiming they were looking for propaganda material. They confiscated copies of the AL-SHARA' biweekly which is published in East Jerusalem and is heavily censored, arguing that they have to do a security check on it. They also confiscated many books, including political textbooks which are not illegal and do not threaten the security of the state. A member of the movement who asked not to be identified reacted as follows: "A regime that confiscates books and papers is a fascist regime, and this shows the moral and human bankruptcy of this regime. These books were intended to educate the participants, and I don't see what is so dangerous about AL-SHARA'."

The agents of the law were not content to break into the club and take books and papers, but also hunted down the members of the movement. They searched

the homes of the activists and invited them a month later for a second investigation. As for Sa'id, 2 weeks ago his parents' home was searched for "dangerous material," and of course nothing was found. The police arrested Sa'id for 48 hours and released him without bail. Sa'id says that the actions of the police against the members of the movement and the club show the hysteria that has gripped the Israeli government.

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ARENS ON SYRIAN POSITION, IDF APPOINTMENTS

TA171013 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0605 GMT 17 May 83

[Defense Minister Moshe Arens interviewed by Ron Ben-Yishay and Yosi 'Abadi; date and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Arens] At this point, the Syrians are acting as though they will not withdraw. That is because they want to prevent the signing of the agreement. It may be that once they see the agreement is an accomplished fact they will in any case reach the conclusion that from their viewpoint it is in their interests to withdraw. However, we do not know that for sure. I suppose that in any case it will certainly take several weeks for the picture to become clear.

[Ben-Yishay] Do we have any idea about the Syrian withdrawal conditions? We have heard all kinds of things, such as their wanting a security zone and their own Haddad--Lieutenant (Khatib)--who would be in the Al-Biqa' area. Do we have any idea about the Syrian withdrawal conditions?

[Arens] The real and substantive contacts between Lebanon and Syria have not started yet. But I think they will begin almost the day after the agreement is signed. I can speculate that the Syrians, if they are thinking about a withdrawal, about evacuating the territory they are holding--and they are today occupying some 40 percent of Lebanon, before the "Peace for Galilee" operation, if I am not mistaken, they were occupying some 70 or 75 percent of Lebanon--are worried about losing their influence, their position of power. They have already lost a major part of their influence. It is a fact that before the "Peace for Galilee" operation the Lebanese Government was truly a puppet government, a government that in fact did what the Syrians told them to do. That is not the case today.

So if they are thinking in terms of evacuating the territory they are occupying today, they will in any case try as much as possible to preserve some positions, some influence in Lebanon, so as not to lose everything. However, since their influence in Lebanon up to now was directly connected to their military presence, I presume that they will not be easy. So it is hard for me to imagine exactly what kinds of things they will want, but I think that in any case--and I suppose that they also think so--that in any case if they withdraw they will lose a great deal of the influence they have had in Lebanon over the past years.

[Ben-Yishay] Allow me to ask you a direct question. Have they already sent us a signal via the Americans?

[Arens] No, not at all. As we understand it, at the secretary of state's last meeting with President Al-Asad, the Syrians neither welcomed the agreement nor did they give the secretary of state any reason to think that they would in fact withdraw and enable the implementation of the agreement. However, we know that Al-Asad is a very cautious man. We know him from past experiences. He was also cautious enough not to close the door either and not tell Secretary Shultz: We will not withdraw. Those words he did not say.

['Abadi] If, however, the Syrians delay their withdrawal for a significant length of time, what would Israel's reaction be? In other words, should we withdraw? Do you support a withdrawal to the Al-'Awwali River, or remaining along the current line?

[Arens] The situation will be different after the signing, since after the signing we will have partners, the partners to the signing: Lebanon and the United States. And I would say that if it appears that the Syrians will not withdraw or if there is a delay and a protracted period of uncertainty, an unclear situation, we will have to consult with the U.S. and Lebanese Governments and at least try--and I suppose that we will succeed in achieving some kind of decision about what to do in such an event, what to do together, and how this decision will affect movement by the IDF, if indeed there is to be movement.

['Abadi] With your permission, Mr Defense Minister, let us move on to a different problem, a pressing problem, one that perhaps is now on the agenda, to use a more precise expression, the IDF appointments affair. Has it not clouded the atmosphere in the IDF or perhaps caused other negative results?

[Arens] It does not have to cause any damage because I would not use those terms in assessing the process. Whoever uses those terms is apparently thinking in terms of a one-time action, a single round, in which everyone moves and then there are 4 years of quiet until we again go through that process of musical chairs. But this is not the case; the process of IDF appointments is a continuous one, an ongoing one. And it must be like that. I do not think it is good to subject the IDF to a shock wave once every 4 years, moving everyone from post to post. Therefore, what you are seeing and what the people in the IDF are seeing is simply a continuous process--not a prolonged one--but one that is continuous and ongoing.

[Abadi] Is the prime minister's involvement in the appointments acceptable to you?

[Arens] I do not even know what you are referring to.

['Abadi] The appointment of the IDF Manpower Branch chief was made following a discussion with the prime minister.

[Arens] Ah. First of all, let me tell you that I consult with the prime minister on my own initiative. Sometimes I inform him of high-level appointments in the IDF. I think that is only correct. He is the prime minister, he was also the defense minister before. He knows the situation, he knows the people. And I do not think that it would be correct if I were to ignore him and act on those matters without touching base with him. In the case of Brigadier General 'Amos Yaron, he asked to see the prime minister. I think he had good reason to see the prime minister, to explain what was on his mind, and I approved that demand unhesitatingly. I suppose that if I had not approved that meeting, he would not have met the prime minister.

CSO: 4400/530

'DAVAR' ON INCREASING CRITICISM OF ECONOMIC SITUATION

TA201254 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 20 May 83 p 15

[Analysis by Rafi and Hanokh Smith: "Criticism of Economic Affairs Has Increased"]

[Text] Even before the publication of the April index, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's economic policy was increasingly becoming the target of criticism by the Israeli public. In the previous article we showed that the number of Jewish voters who think that the government is succeeding or succeeding for the most part in dealing with economic matters had dropped from 30 percent in the October 1982 poll to 23 percent in the April-May 1983 poll. In addition to this, we found a drop in the trust the public puts in the government and its anti-inflationary policy. IN reply to the question "In your opinion, is Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's policy succeeding in stopping inflation?" we received the following answers:

	<u>Results in Percentages</u>	
	<u>Smith Poll April-May 1983</u>	<u>Smith Poll October 1982</u>
Thinks his policy will succeed	6	9
Thinks his policy will succeed, but only partially	14	18
Thinks his policy will not really succeed	20	19
Thinks his policy will fail	49	44
No view, has not decided	11	10

In October 1982, 9 percent of the people interviewed thought the finance minister's policy would succeed in stopping the inflation, 18 percent thought it would partially succeed--a total of 27 percent.

Among Likud supporters, in October, 47 percent then thought he would succeed or partially succeed compared with 7 percent of the Alignment supporters. In October, 19 percent of the people interviewed thought he would not quite succeed and 44 percent thought his policy would fail. Among Alignment supporters, 73 percent thought the policy would fail compared with 20 percent from the Likud supporters.

In the April-May 1983 poll, 6 percent believed the policy would succeed and 14 percent thought it would partially succeed--a total of 20 percent. This is a drop of 7 percent compared with the results of the October poll. On the other hand, the percentage of those who thought that the finance minister's policy would fail increased by 5 percent, and in the October poll it reached almost 50 percent of those interviewed (49 percent). The main drop, some 7 percent, was among Likud supporters; 40 percent thought his policy would succeed or partially succeed (compared with 47 percent in the October poll). The percentage of those who think his policy will fail increased by 8 percent and reached 28 percent. From Likud supporters, 19 percent noted that his policy was not so successful.

We receive a similar picture when we examine other issues. Those who were interviewed in the April-May poll were asked whether they thought that the "government would succeed in keeping the economy stable." There were 19 percent who thought the government would succeed, 11 percent not so much and 44 percent thought the government would not succeed. A relatively high percentage, 26 percent, did not commit themselves in any direction. Among the Likud supporters, a third thought the government would succeed in maintaining economic stability, a third thought it would not succeed and a third did not commit themselves. Among the Alignment supporters, 9 percent thought the government would succeed and 76 percent thought it would not succeed in keeping the economy stable.

In reply to the question of whether they did or did not agree with the government's economic program, 22 percent answered that they did agree, 3 percent did not quite agree, 42 percent did not agree and the rest expressed no opinion. There is great opposition from the opposition supporters to the government's economic program. Among Likud supporters, 42 percent agreed with the program, 31 percent did not quite agree and 20 percent did not agree. That is, those who do not quite agree or do not agree with the government's economic program are in the majority.

Before we draw conclusions, let us note the results of another question connected with the economy. The interviewees were asked whether they did or did not agree with the government's tax policy. There were 22 percent who agreed with the taxation policy, 67 percent who did not quite agree and the rest expressed no opinion.

In all the economic questions about stopping inflation, a stable economy, an economic program and taxation, about 20 percent agreed with the government and the finance minister, and almost 70 percent did not agree. Among Alignment supporters, a very small percentage agreed with the government policy or saw successes in the economic field. It is interesting that in general some 40

percent of the Likud supporters thought the government was succeeding in the economic sphere to a certain extent, or agreed with the government positions or thought the government was not succeeding in dealing with the issue. A similar percentage claimed they did not quite agree with the government policy.

In comparison with any other issue, in the economic field public agreement with the way the government is dealing with this, and its policy, was low. On these issues there has been a drop of 7-8 percent compared with the October poll.

We can therefore conclude that the drop in public admiration for the government's policy and its way of dealing with the economic issue is apparently the cause of the drop in support for the coalition parties.

In the next article we will see that although the public levels criticism at the government on certain issues, the people who head it win great popularity. We will note here that the finance minister, Yoram Aridor, is more popular than his policy.

From the viewpoint of the public, the finance minister's post is the most difficult one. All finance ministers over the past decade have, in time, received low marks of admiration from the public. After a long time during which the finance minister was acceptable to the public in comparison to other senior ministers, there has recently been a drop in evaluations of how he is fulfilling his task.

We will see all this in the next article.

CSO: 4400/530

BONDS ORGANIZATION HALTS CANAL CAMPAIGN

TA230724 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 23 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Report by Charles Hoffman]

[Text] The Israel Bonds Organization has stopped raising funds for the Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal and hydroelectric project, and has been disseminating the Treasury's view among bonds leaders that the project should not receive top national priority.

This was disclosed yesterday by the director of Israel Bonds, Yehuda Halevi, in an interview with THE JERUSALEM POST. The organization is supervised by the Treasury and has conducted a special campaign for the last two and a half years to raise \$100 million in "seed money" for the canal project.

Halevi said that \$100 million in pledges has been made already, and this amount, \$76 million worth of bonds has been purchased.

He said that when Finance Minister Yoram Aridor visited Israel Bonds headquarters in the U.S. in April, he ordered a halt to the special campaign, pointing out it would put too great a burden on the government to finance all or part of the implementation of the \$1.5 billion project through the sale of bonds.

Halevi said that the bonds leaders were "disappointed" that the momentum and enthusiasm generated for the project would not lead directly to implementation. He said that they did not feel "misled," however, since it had been clear from the start of the special campaign that the money raised would go into the overall funds for Israel's economic development.

Halevi said that the bonds leaders were asked recently to tell local fund-raisers that the project could not get top priority now due to the extra burdens of financing the war in Lebanon and developing the Lavi warplane, and due to the recent drop in oil prices.

Since the completion of the project's feasibility study late last year, the Treasury has argued that it is not economically viable, and has refused to allocate more than \$5.5 million to continue the detailed planning. The

Energy Ministry contends that the project would produce a \$400 million profit, and has demanded an additional \$7 million to keep the project going.

Halevi said that the bonds organization has no position on whether the extra \$7 million should be allocated--even though the \$76 million in "seed money" collected will more than cover the \$40 million cost of the final stage of planning.

The bonds director, who took over his position six months ago, said he had not received a copy of the feasibility study prepared by the development company. He said, however, that the eventual cost would probably be "twice as much" as the estimated \$1.5 billion.

CSO: 4400/530

NEW ANTIWAR GROUP ESTABLISHED

TA221102 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 22 May 83 p 1

[Report by Hana Kim]

[Text] A new group of people protesting the war in Lebanon, calling itself "Thus Far" ['Ad Kan] has recently been established. It comprises high school children and members of the various youth movements on the even of their recruitment to the IDF, who have asked the prime minister and the defense minister not to serve in Lebanon for reasons of conscientious objection. So far, the group's letters addressed to Begin and Arens included the signatures of 250 youths just about ready to be enlisted. In their letter, they stated that the conventional ways of protesting war in Lebanon have to date not resolved the Lebanese mess into which the country has entered, which is why they would like to protest the war by way of a request not to serve in Lebanon. "Neither the demonstrations nor the internal deliberations and conscious pangs remove the responsibility for our actions in Lebanon, which is why we are taking this step," the letter says.

The spokesman for the new group has reported that the initiative for forming that group came from the "There Is A Limit" Group, but that "Thus Far" is an independent and nonpartisan movement. He also said that a rally of "Thus Far" supporters will be held tomorrow at 1700 in the Tzavta Hall in Tel Aviv, with the participation of Prof Yesha'yahu Leibowitz, Beni Barabash, Gadi Elgazi and representatives of "Thus Far."

CSO: 4400/530

EIGHTY-NINE EARTHQUAKES REGISTERED IN 1982

TA200746 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 20 May 83 p 3

[Report by Charles Hoffman]

[Text] Ninety-two earthquakes were registered in Israel between September 1981 and the end of 1982, but only three were actually felt, and these were relatively low on the Richter scale.

This information was released yesterday in the first bulletin on earthquakes in Israel and adjacent areas by the seismological division of the Institute for Petroleum Research and Geophysics. The institute is administered by the Ministry of Energy and Infrastructure.

The head of the seismological division, Dr Avi Shapira, noted that most of the earthquakes were actually "seismic events" that registered between two and four on the Richter scale, which extends to seven.

The three quakes that were felt during this time ranged between three and four and occurred south of the Kinneret, south of the Hula Valley and at 'Afula. None caused any damage. Of the quakes that hit Elat early this year, the strongest registered 5.1 on the Richter scale.

Shapira said that the information was gathered in the first comprehensive seismological survey of Israel, which was instituted by the Energy Ministry in 1981. The seismological network comprises 13 fixed stations and a small number of portable instruments.

Since there is no countrywide information for the period preceeding the survey, Shapira could not say if the level of seismic activity recorded was normal. The number of earthquakes felt, however, was normal.

He added that comprehensive information of this sort is needed for planning the location of nuclear power plants and other heavy industrial plants, and for guiding local building codes.

Most of the quakes recorded occurred in the eastern Part of the country along the Syrian-African Rift, which includes the 'Arava, the Dead Sea and Kinneret areas.

CSO: 4400/530

BRIEFS

INDUSTRIAL PLANTS IN DEVELOPMENT TOWNS--In 1982 a total of 8.6 billion shekels was invested in establishing and expanding 218 industrial plants in development towns. Moshe Lerer, assistant to the minister of industry and commerce and government coordinator in the Galilee reported that 47 percent of the investments in industry in development towns in 1982 were in the Galilee. This is a rise of 5 percent compared to the 1981 level. Outstanding among the new plants are sophisticated industries, especially in the area of electronics, and those based on original research and development. The data also reveal that the volume of investment in the development areas last year was double the rest of the country. According to industry and commerce ministry data, 2600 new jobs will be created as a result of the new industry in the Galilee and 1400 jobs in the Negev. [Text] [Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 5 Apr 83 p 4] 9565

STRIKING KOOR WORKERS--All Koor plants suffered serious problems yesterday when 7000 workers took an "organized vacation" of 2 days. The reason for the strike was Koor's refusal to raise salaries in order to bridge the gap with the public sector. Koor workers have good work conditions in the production sector, and the gap between them and the workers on the same level is considerable. Next Monday the workers council secretariat will meet to decide on a total strike. [Text] [Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 7 Apr 83 p 4] 9565

ARENS NEW ADVISORY STAFF--Defense Minister Moshe Arens has formed a special advisory staff made of four. The staff includes Maj Gen (Ret) Me'ir Zore'a, inspector of the defense system; Maj Gen Yisra'el Tal; Maj Gen Menahem Maron, who will officially finish his tour of duty as IDF attache in the U.S. in 2 months; and Defense Ministry Director-General Brig Gen Aharon Bet-Halahmi. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 5 Apr 83 p 1] 9565

RAMALLAH, HEBRON LAND EXPROPRIATION--Israeli occupation authorities have expropriated 5 thousand dunams of the lands of the village of Tiquimiyah in the Hebron region. Those lands are privately owned and their owners have been cultivating them for hundreds of years, and they have documents to prove their ownership. Because of complaints, the liaison officer asked the village heads to prepare the papers within 21 days from the day of the expropriation decree. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-FAJR AL-'ARABI in Hebrew 30 Mar 83 p 2]

The occupation authorities expropriated 25 dunams from the land of the village of al-Tirah in the Ramallah region. This land is privately owned and belongs to two villagers--Dib Ahmad and Yusuf Sa'id Ahmad. The land is the owners' sole source of livelihood. The villagers fear further expropriations. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-FAJR AL-'ARABI in Hebrew 30 Mar 83 p 2] 9565

TEL AVIV ECONOMIC, DEMOGRAPHIC DECLINE--The socio-economic demographic development of Tel Aviv has been declining since the mid-seventies. The 1982 Tel Aviv Statistical Yearbook shows a continuing decline during last year in population, commerce, industry, hotel occupancy, and a continuing polarization between the north and the south of the city. Only a slight rise is indicated in employment. According to the Yearbook, presented to the mayor yesterday by the Socio-economic Studies Center headed by Dr Hayim Harpaz, the population early last year was 329,500, a decline of 1.9 percent compared to 1981 and 9 percent compared to 1972. The natural growth is near zero. Compared to an increase of 1014 residents in 1979, only 748 were added in 1980 and 693 in 1981. The reason for this is the decline in birth and increase in death. Last year divorce rose and marriages declined, due to aging of population and outflux of the young. In 1981 the decline of employment during 1977-1980 stopped. Last year employment rose 3.6 percent. The number of businesses declined by 6 percent. Wholesale business, banking and insurance went up while retail, especially food and textiles, went down. Textile and chemical production also declined. This is the first time significant population and hotel occupancy decline has been recorded. The standard of living in Tel Aviv went up as a result of continued construction and decline in population. Registered vehicles went up to 104,000. Traffic accidents rose 10 percent. [Text] [Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 31 Mar 83 p 3] 9565

NEW GENETIC ENGINEERING COMPANY--Israel's former president, Prof Efrayim Katzier, will act as consultant to a science-based company, formed in Israel by a U.S. investor, named International Genetic Science. The company was established in Jerusalem by U.S. companies First Mississippi and International Genetic Science of New York. The first investment of \$4-5 million will be used by the new Israeli company to develop methods of introducing better genes to cells of animals and plants. One of the long-range goals of the company is to produce immunization materials and hormones for animals. The office of the chief scientist in the Ministry of Industry and Commerce participates in the research and development budget of the company. The company's team of scientists will work under the supervision of Israeli and foreign scientists, including Prof Katzier, Prof Avraham Leuter of the Hebrew University, and Profs Dimitrius Pappa Jupulus of Berkley University in California and Adolph Gersmann of the Free University of West Berlin. Prof Leuter will serve as chief scientist of the company, which will employ 15-20 scientists during 3-4 years. International Genetic Engineering will work in close cooperation with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. [Text] [Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 1 Apr 83 p 2] 9565

W. BANK OIL DEPOSIT CLAIM--Riyadh, 20 May (QNA)--The Saudi newspaper AL-JAZIRAH reported from Washington today that aerial photographs of the geological layers of the occupied West Bank show the presence of commercial quantities of oil. The newspaper said the aerial survey has been carried out in the course of Israeli attempts to look for oil, especially after returning the Sinai oilfields to Egypt. [Text] [GF202022 Doha QNA in Arabic 1800 GMT 20 May 83]

IDF PERMIT FOR TABAH CROSSING--Since noon, the directive requiring every traveller wanting to cross over into the Sinai to obtain an IDF permit has been implemented in Tabah. Our correspondent Eytan Rabin notes that some time ago the need for such a permit was eliminated, but at the end of the week the defense minister decided to renew it. [Text] [TA221402 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1300 GMT 22 May 83]

MORE W. BANK BORDER POLICE--The defense minister has decided to expedite two new border police companies to carry out police work in Judaea and Samaria. Our correspondent Shlomo Raz reports that this decision was made at a meeting between senior police and IDF officers which was also attended by Minister Arens. The IDF will supply all the means necessary to the two companies which will arrive in Judaea and Samaria shortly. [Text] [TA221738 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 22 May 83]

DISAGREEMENT OVER DEFENSE BUDGET--How much does it cost to keep the army in Lebanon? The Defense Ministry says between 1.5 and 2 billion shekels, but the Finance Ministry says no more than 1 billion shekels. The two ministries are arguing over allocations from the supplementary budget which made money available for the army in Lebanon only until the end of March. Since then, there has been no budgetary cover for the army's operation in southern Lebanon. Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Moshe Levi has said he estimates the army needs at least another 6 billion shekels, but a Treasury official rejoined that the government will have to hold a debate on sources of finance if it decides to increase the army's budget, and if that happens, the Treasury may well press for new taxes or cuts in the allocations of other ministries. [Text] [TA240634 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 24 May 83]

STIFFER INSPECTION ON SETTLEMENT PROJECTS--The Agriculture Ministry will tighten the inspection of entrepreneurs wishing to establish privately-built settlements in Judaea and Samaria. The decision to tighten inspection of these entrepreneurs comes against the backdrop of the great publicity campaign these elements have launched, offering Judaea and Samaria land for sale. Some of these entrepreneurs do not even have a license to build the settlements, and others do not have a permit to purchase the land. Deputy Agriculture Minister MK Mikha'el Deqel, who is in charge of settlement in Judaea and Samaria, said last week that anyone purchasing land for construction in Samaria must require that the seller show him a "transaction permit" for the plot in question. This

permit is issued by the Civilian Administration in Judaea and Samaria, which makes sure the land was duly sold and that there is no claim upon it from the seller. Afterwards, the person who purchases that land must inquire whether the seller has obtained license to set up the settlement, and that is done through the ministerial committee for settlement affairs. [Report by Avraham Dishon] [Text] [TA221038 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 22 May 83 p 4]

POSTPONED NATIONAL RELIGIOUS PARTY ELECTIONS--No internal elections will be held in the National Religious Party (NRP) after all, despite months of internal conflict which brought the party very close to a split. The faction of Interior Minister Yosef Burg decided last night on an indefinite postponement of the elections, thereby averting another clash with the faction led by Education Minister Zvulun Hammer. Burg's faction had all along insisted on the elections, but the Hammer faction threatened to boycott them. The religious kibbutz movement, the religious women's movement and smaller factions had already threatened to boycott the elections. After Hammer yesterday conferred with Burg and later with his faction strongman, Refa'el Ben-Natan, the elections were in effect called off. This is a bitter blow for Dr Yitzhaq Refa'el and former MK, David Glass, who sought to revive the defunct Likud U'temura faction. They need elections to gain representation in party forums. The decision yesterday means that the NRP door was in effect slammed in the face of the Refa'el faction. The existing forums, with their precarious balance of power, will continue to serve the NRP. The party has not had internal elections for the past 12 years. [Report by Sara Honig] [Text] [TA230758 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 23 May 83 p 3]

BUS LINES IN TERRITORIES UNPROFITABLE--Fifteen bus lines of Egged are now operating in an area north of the Jerusalem-Jericho road, including northern Judea and Samaria. Most of the lines are designed to show political presence rather than profitability, Egged revealed yesterday in a reporters' tour of the Egged lines in Samaria. Thirteen lines operate out of Jerusalem, including a line to Qiryat Shemona via Jericho and the Jordan Valley and two lines to Nazareth--one through the Jordan Valley and the other through Nablus in the Samaria mountains. There is also a Jerusalem-Tel Aviv line going through Bet Horon. The cost of operating those lines exceeds the sale of tickets 20 times because of the small number of passengers. Egged operates those lines at the request of the government. At the same time, Egged's demand to obligate the local councils in Samaria to use its buses for transporting students to regional schools has not been accepted by the government. This service is profitable and can reduce the cost of operating the other lines in Samaria. Children are bused by the local councils under the supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Despite the non-profitability, Egged has asked the Transport Ministry this week for a permit to operate a Jerusalem-Emanuel line to serve the new religious city being built in Samaria. This line will run north of Jerusalem to Nablus as far as Dereh Hayim and from there to Ariel and Emanuel. Egged hopes that the new line will become profitable as a result of population growth in that area. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Apr 83 p 8/ 9565]

EXPANDING PACEMAKER CAPABILITIES--Weitzmann Institute scientists in cooperation with physicians at Shiva Medical Center at Tel Hashomer and with the electronics industry have developed a device based on a new integrated system for extending the operation of pacemakers implanted in patients. There are approximately half a million patients with pacemakers in the world today. The method is the result of the study of Dr Henrik Fischler of the membrane division at the Weitzmann Institute, in cooperation with Prof Henry Neufeld, Dr Shlomo Bacher and Dr Shlomo Feldman of the heavy institute at Tel Hashomer. The device is based on advanced electronic techniques which automatically spot any problems and signal any pacemaker malfunction. The results of the checkup can be seen simultaneously in three ways--digitally, on screen, and graphically. The final design of the device was done by COM Medical Systems, Inc of Haifa, which introduced the latest microcomputer technologies in this device. The new device monitors every part of the pacemaker--the batteries, the electronic components and the electrodes attached to the heart, without stopping the pacemaker even for one heartbeat. The monitoring device is placed outside the body and does not cause any pain. It resembles an EKG and it works by attaching four electrodes to the patient's body in order to obtain an EKG reading and signals sent from the pacemaker to the heart. The device can be used with any pacemaker made anywhere in the world. It can also monitor pacemakers by remote control by transmitting EKG readings over the phone to an automatic control station. /Text/ /Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 7 Apr 83 p 2/ 9565

WAR COVERAGE WORKSHOP--In early May the Hebrew University in Jerusalem will conduct a workshop on the role of communications during and after war. The workshop will include academicians and journalists. Deputy President of the Hebrew University Simha Dinitz said yesterday in a press conference that the purpose of the workshop is to analyze the coverage by the electronic media of the Lebanon, Vietnam, Iran-Iraq and Falkland Islands wars, in order to examine the limitations of the coverage and the mistakes made. The organizers of the workshop expect expert journalists to attend, as well as scholars from all over the world and from Israel. Defense Minister Moshe Arens will speak at a festive dinner offered by MA'ARIV for the participants of the workshop. Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir will speak during lunch, when the guest of honor will be YEDI'OT AHARONOT chief editor Noah Moses. /Text/ /Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 13 Apr 83 p 2/ 9565

CSO: 4400/230

LEFTIST JOURNAL QUESTIONS ISLAMIC BANKING, COMMERCIAL PRACTICES

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 788, 13 Apr 83 pp 15-17

[Article by Faysal Muhammad Khalid: "An Islamic Guise Even in Speculation: What Is the Story of the So-Called Islamic Financing Institution?"]

[Text] While the second conference on Islamic banks was being held, in the period 21-23 March, a discussion was being reopened on the nature of Islamic banks which covered their establishment, their daily transactions and their annual figures.

A number of comments arose, among them some contending that the banks were violations of Islamic law, because the bank interest commercial banks received in the form of participation in profits was greater than the profits granted in the form of interest by commercial banks.

Some comments were practical in nature. They presented the major question of what the Islamic banks have done that is new in terms of the economic situation. Have they become integrated within this situation, or have they engaged in a distinctive form of financial dealings? Other questions dealt basically with the Kuwaiti Financing Institution as an Islamic bank which has been involved in its activities for a full 7 years.

Here, so that our questions will entail answers that are realistic, it will be necessary to review the form of these banks, their contributions and their annual activity, so that we can as a result determine if they mark a departure from the capitalist condition we are living under or whether they have made a big contribution to this condition.

What areas has it actually entered, and what is the extent of their contribution to the domestic economy? In our treatment, we will deal with the Financing Institution as an experiment and as a practical entity, especially in the 7 years that have elapsed since it was established, which, in our opinion, are adequate for evaluating this experiment. It must not be understood by this presentation and criticism of the Financing Institution in particular, and Islamic banks in general, that the alternative, or what must function as an alternative, is to be found in the commercial banks. Rather, it is our goal to state that the use of Islam as a formulation for commercial practice is alien to Islam if this practice is harmful to the domestic economy and strengthens speculation in it, as we will show later on.

In the charter of the Financing Institution, which involves the Ministry of Justice, the Department of Palace Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and the private sector, scope is provided to it to engage in all banking activities, buy and sell gold ingots and foreign currency, establish companies, purchase stocks, engage in transportation of all forms, land, marine and air, and imports and exports, deal in commodities and storage in all forms and aspects, purchase real estate lands, establish cooperative systems, engage in industrial and engineering contracting and building, agriculture, fishing, sponges, pearls, and ship and tanker construction, excavate canals, and engage in media financing, the press, the radio and the movies.

From Articles Six and Seven of the articles of the charter agreement, it is apparent that the Financing Institution has the ability as a company to conduct transactions in all areas of banking activity, from the purchase of gold to the media in all forms. We do not believe that there is any area or activity which has not been covered in its most thorough form in the Financing Institution, which has been opened up to work and participate in all investment areas, contrary to many or most companies of limited economic activity, which must not go beyond those activities. At this point we wonder, on the subject of this great scope of Financing Institution activities, what its activities have been in the course of these years.

Before answering the question, let us hear the response of Mr Ahmad Bazi 'al-Yasin, the chairman of the Financing Institution, in a press interview with the magazine AL-MASARIF AL-'ARABIYAH:

Question: Is the Islamic banking system a proper alternative to the current banking system, or does it complement it?

Answer: The system of Islamic banks is a good alternative to the banking system founded on profit. Contrary to what some people believe, the world can do without the latter and turn toward the Islamic banking system, which has demonstrated a success that has scarcely been equalled in many Islamic countries. In my opinion, following this sort of system will lead to the elimination of economic chaos in the world (AL-MASARIF AL-'ARABIYAH, 1981).

Real Estate Islam!

From this response, and from the goals in the establishment of the Financing Institution, we go back to the question we raised, to show the actual activity the Financing Institution engaged in. From the Financing Institution's latest balance sheet, for 1982, one can present the following:

Assets up to 31 December 1982

Total assets, 569 million dinars, broken down as follows:

1. Real estate transaction investments	225 million dinars	39.5 percent of capital
2. Other real properties	11.4 million dinars	2 percent of capital
3. Currency, accounts and deposits	114.5 million dinars	25.4 percent of capital

4. Financing for bond allocations, debtors and advance payments	70.5 million dinars	29.9 percent of capital
5. Other assets	18.9 million dinars	3.2 percent of capital

These are the financial assets of the Financing Institution. It is apparent that the proportion invested in real estate amounts to 41.5 percent. As far as revenues are concerned, one can show these as follows:

1. Profits from real estate, commercial and construction investments	45 million dinars	4.4 percent
2. Revenues from rents	2.3 million dinars	6.5 percent
3. Banking activities	3.4 million dinars	6.5 percent
4. Other	1.4 million dinars	2.6 percent

Revenues from investments (let us call them exorbitant revenues from investments) in real estate account for 90.9 percent of the Financing Institution profits.

This means that the money that has been deposited in real estate, which was embodied in real estate assets, amounting to 41.5 percent, provided the Financing Institution with profits amounting to 90.9 percent of its revenues.

This means that real estate investment is the main pillar of the activity of the Financing Institution, from the standpoint of investment revenues (90.9 percent) and assets (41.65 percent).

In previous years, real estate, commercial and construction assets constituted 12 million of a total of 14.5 million dinars. In 1981, these revenues accounted for 29.9 million of a total of 34 million dinars. This is a large percentage, greater than it was in 1980.

With respect to other non-real estate aspects, commercial aspects represent a part of the bank's activity. These are automobile imports, the wholesale purchase of consumer goods, and their sale to societies or small merchants at retail, in addition to its banking activities and immediate purchase of foreign currency. However, the main activity was real estate activity.

We do not know what difference there is between that and any real estate company in Kuwait which buys land.

The Financing Institution's land purchasing activities have not been restricted to commercial lands -- they include numerous residential lands allocated to individuals, al-Jabiriyah, Mushrif, Bayan and other residential areas in Kuwait. It has made a big contribution to the increase and continuing price escalation in real estate speculation, in the midst of a terrible housing problem which many Kuwaiti families are suffering from.

A plot of land which was worth 3,000 dinars 10 years ago in an area like al-Surrah has risen in price because of this speculation in residential real estate to 150,000 or 200,000 dinars. This pursuit of real estate speculation

and the large Financing Institution money assets in the real estate sector prompt us to wonder about Mr Ahmad al-Bazi's answer regarding the new activities the Financing Institution has engaged in. What are the economic benefits from the rise in the price of land? Land remains as it is; it does not change, though its price has risen hundreds of times over as a result of the accumulation of money and the use of a large portion of it for speculation, not productive activities with good returns to the domestic economy.

Can this activity, in which real estate speculation constitutes the backbone, constitute a new system which can be emulated and from which recommendations can issue forth on concentrating on the formation of Islamic banks of this type in various areas of the Islamic world?

Has the Financing Institution since its establishment indeed engaged in investing its money in economic activities, since it is in this activity in which it was given scope to engage, whether that be industrial, agriculture, involved in mines or the media, and so forth?

Going by its balance sheets, it has made a major contribution in raising residential real estate prices and putting its assets in the laziest form of investment, which is the purchase of real estate, land, housing and buildings.

What is stated in its charter remains mere ink on paper and nothing more. It has not managed to emerge from the cocoon of real estate speculation but has acquired assets which are increasing every day through real estate speculation. The prices of these assets have not yet dropped, in spite of the crisis in the securities market, rather, they have stayed level. However, the main point, and the important question, is, is it Islamic justice for land to be hoarded in the midst of terrible demands on the part of thousands of families to obtain a roof they can live under, now that the prices of land have reached a margin that surpasses one's daydreams?

Is it reasonable that French law, which embraces real estate speculation, should be more human than the Islamic religion, which is involved in this manner?

Is it permissible, ultimately, that this form of real estate speculation should assume an Islamic guise, as they wish it to?

We are raising this question not on the basis of research papers that are presented at the Sheraton and published in various places but on the basis of the balance sheet of the Financing Institution, which has been taken as an example of this activity, which some people would like to clothe in an Islamic guise, so that one can then do as one likes and engage in any practice, even if it is remote from Islamic and humanitarian social justice. Thus it is apparent that the "system of Islamic gain" exceeds the bank interest of commercial banks, speculation, and commerce in the riskiest residential real estate ventures. Its results are more than usury and bank interest in the context of the housing conditions of a country like Kuwait, in the context of individuals and the economy in general.

BRIEFS

FRIDAY SERMON OVERSIGHT — The Kuwaiti Ministry of Information has issued a decree stipulating that the official media are not to broadcast Friday sermons from mosques if these sermons have not been reviewed in advance, so that the sermons will not depart from exhortation, guidance and the avoidance of particular details regarding people and unfavorable comments on people, which they are supposed to restrict themselves to. This measure has been applied in the wake of the curses and accusations that were directed against our colleagues Muhammad Masa'id al-salih and Mr Muhammad al-Rumayhi during the Friday sermon 2 weeks ago. In another area, the minister of foreign affairs and the minister of information, Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad, met last Wednesday with our colleagues Muhammad Nasa'id al-Salih and Dr Muhammad al-Rumayhi, informing them of his displeasure with and his apologies for the radio and television broadcast of the last Friday sermon, in which the person giving the sermon made an attack on them. Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad informed the two colleagues that the Ministry of Information did not know the contents of the Friday sermons before they were broadcast, since that was the responsibility of the Ministry of Religious Endowments, and that he did not approve of the directing of criticism and calumny against any citizen by the media. [Text] [Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 788, 13 Apr 83 p 6] 11887

CSO: 4404/337

YIBAL OIL PROJECTS MOVE AHEAD

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 21 Apr 83 p 8

[Text]

Construction work at Yibal, one of Oman's major oil and gas production centres will enable the production capacity of Yibal field to be stepped up.

The total budget for all Yibal projects amounts to US\$ 50 million and the value of all the construction amounts to US\$ 16 million.

"Already being installed are the compressor plants, Yibal C Station, twenty kilometres of pipelines and eighty kilometers of flowlines", Yibal project engineer, Joost Van der Flier said.

When all the new facilities have been realised at Yibal significant quantities of gas will be collected instead of being flared.

Joost said the existing production facilities such as the Yibal C production station and the Yibal B compressor plant with all the related work on pipeline and flowline systems will provide rooms for better services.

The new Yibal C Station will add some 12,000 m³/d oil production capacity to Yibal while the Yibal B compressor plant will add some 2 million m³/d gas lift capacity to the existing gas lift compressor station at Yibal.

Over the last two years the Engineering Planning group under Chris Haynes has been designing the new facilities in close liaison with petroleum engineering. Their work has culminated, among many other things, in supply yards full of materials from all over the world.

Compressors from Holland, gas turbines from U.K., line pipes from Japan and other items have been transported to Yibal.

To give an idea of the scale of logistics involved for the Yibal B Compressor station alone, it took 120 trucks to move out equipment from the coast to Yibal about 300 kilometres away.

Yibal B compressor station and Yibal C production station are scheduled for completion by the third quarter of this year.

A special site office has been set up in Yibal manned by construction engineers Jaap Roos and Jan Willem Resink. With a team of materials co-ordinators, construction supervisors, welding inspectors, service engineers to monitor and supervise the work.

CSO: 4400/525

NEW RULES CONTROL FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 21 Apr 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Muzaffar Mohammad]

[Text]

The level of foreign investment in Oman has been reduced by 25 per cent in ordinary projects and by 49 per cent in major projects, Mr Ahmad Macki, Under Secretary of Commerce and Industry disclosed to the Times.

The decrease followed the Ministry's decision that no further investment will be allowed in trade and services.

He said the new rules reflect the Government's policy that foreign investment must be directed towards productive and manufacturing industries such as agriculture, industry and mining.

It was also decided that foreign capital must be associated with projects involving substantial investments leaving small and medium-sized enterprises to nationals.

The Under Secretary expressed the hope that with emphasis being placed on manufacturing and with the exclusion of trade and services the pattern of foreign financing would change a great deal.

Fifty-five per cent of the total foreign investment in the Sultanate has taken place in financing (RO 25.1 million)

The share of other sectors of activities is as follows:

Trade 19 per cent — R.O. 9.1 million; Industry 10.6 per cent — R.O. 3.5 million; Contracting - 9.1 per cent — R.O. 5.1 million; Mining - 0.5 per cent — R.O. 5 million; Agriculture - 0.4 per cent — R.O. 0.2 million.

Statistics

During the period 1975-82, the number of commercial companies established in the Sultanate with foreign capital was 319. The breakdown of their legal forms is as follows:

General partnership 24; limited partnership 147; limited liability companies 131 and joint stock companies 17.

The total capital of these companies was R.O. 110.5 million with 65 million Omani and 45.5 million foreign money.

Trade and business accounted for the largest number of commercial companies with foreign capital. Of the 204 companies registered in this sphere, 122 were limited partnership; 17 were general partnership 63 with limited liability and two were joint stock companies.

Contracting has been another area which attracted foreign investment. Most of the compan-

ies registered in this field (43 out of 63) have been limited liability companies.

Financing was one of the important areas in the 1970s when many local banks had been established. Out of the 11 commercial companies working in this field ten are joint stock while one is a limited liability company.

The number of commercial companies registered in other areas were: Industry 31; Agriculture three and mining six. In general the limited liability company was the most common legal form used to establish these companies.

The law

No foreign capital investment can take place in the country unless it receives authorisation from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in terms of the Foreign Business Investment Law, issued in 1974.

The conditions required for authorisation are:

1. The investment must be conducted by an Omani commercial company.
2. The capital of the company should not be less than R.O. 150,000.
3. The foreign equity shareholding should not exceed 65 per cent.

4. The company should provide a bank guarantee if required by the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

However, these conditions can be relaxed if the project is considered as an 'economic development project'.

The approval for the authorisation of foreign capital investment is to be given by the Minister of Commerce and Industry within two months of the date of application. His approval is based on the recommendations of the Committee for Foreign Capital Investment established in the Ministry under the chairmanship of the Under Secretary of the Ministry.

The Committee is required to give recommendations to the Minister on the following matters:

a) Usefulness of the project, the proper amount of capital to be invested and the proportion of Omani shareholding

b) Whether and to what extent the project can be regarded as an economic development project.

c) Disputes and penalties arising out of the application of the law.

d) Matters arising out of the law and those that may be referred to it by the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

The applicant must submit an application form to the Director General of Commerce of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

The application should state the extent of foreign and Omani shareholding in the commercial company, the legal form of the company, particulars of the shareholders, the business envisaged by the company and the name of its bankers.

The application must be accompanied by the constitutive contract or articles of incorporation of the company and the provisional approval of the

Ministry to which the project is related i.e. Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Agriculture and Mining.

After the Minister has approved the proposal, the Director of Company Affairs issues a letter of authorisation for the capital investment after studying the constitutive contract and other documents for compliance with legal requirements.

The final authorisation or licence for foreign capital investment is issued only after the applicant completes the following

Obtained a certificate from a local bank verifying that the company's capital is paid up.

Obtained commercial registration for the establishment of the company, registered the company with the Chamber of Commerce and complied with other requirements specified in lieu of approval.

BRIEFS

INVITATION FROM PRC--The Minister of Education and Youth Affairs, Yahya Mahfudh al Mantheri, has received a letter from his Chinese counterpart. The letter which was delivered by the Chinese Ambassador in Muscat, Mr Yuan Lu Lin, contains an invitation for an Omani delegation to visit China. The aim of the visit, according to the Ministry of Education and Youth Affairs, is to introduce Omani officials to the educational methods in use there and to furthering relations between the two countries. [Text] [Muscat OMAN DAILY OBSERVER in English 21 Apr 83 p 2]

NEW POLICE EQUIPMENT--The Royal Oman Police has ordered 13 fire and emergency vehicles. The trucks are built on a Bedford chassis and the order is for 10 water/foam tenders and three emergency vans. The water/foam types carry 2,045 litres of water and 273 litres of foam and take a crew of six. Equipped with a portable generator, various types of rescue equipment, inflatable lifting bags, tools and a workshop area for on-the-spot repairs, the three emergency cars also carry six people. The order, which is worth more than £500,000, will be delivered to the police in about four months by Mountain Range of Chester, England. It is Oman's first order to the company, which regards it as an important breakthrough. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 14 Apr 83 p 12]

ROAD NETWORK--Coastal villages to the East of Marmul including Likbi and Suqrah will benefit from the construction of approximately 100 kilometres of new road. The work now at an advanced stage, is scheduled for completion towards the end of this month. This work is carried out as part of PDO's Rural Aid Program. The new road links the villages of Sharbihat, Suqrah and Likbi with Shelim near Marmul as well as connecting with the Ministry of Communications' new Coastal road from Duqam to Likbi. "Work on the main section of the road east of Shelim was completed early this year and despite of some damage from the recent rains, the section to Likbi and Suqrah are well advanced," explained the acting-head of construction, Bob Muncaster. "Of particular note is the spectacular descent down a 1 in 5 gradient from the escarpment above Likbi to the Coastal plain," he said. This new road network in the south is already benefiting the fishing communities who can communicate with one another quickly by road instead of by sea. Suqrah and Likbi are within sight of one another along the coast, but before the new road was built it was a difficult six hour return journey--now the whole trip takes just one hour! The roads are being construction

by General Enterprises of Salalah under a R.O. 275,000 Contract awarded in October, 1982. Construction is supervised by PDO's earthmoving section based in Marmul. [Text] [Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 21 Apr 83 p 8].

INVITATION FROM PRC—Labor and Social Affairs Minister Shaykh Mustahil ibn Ahmad al-Ma'shami has received an official invitation to visit the PRC from PRC Labor and Personnel Minister Zhao Shouyi to activate cooperation between the Omani and Chinese peoples and also between labor departments in the two countries. The invitation was conveyed by the PRC ambassador to Oman when the minister received him today. During the meeting they discussed the development of bilateral relations and ways of strengthening them in the field of labor and vocational and technical training. Shaykh Mustahil ibn Ahmad al-Ma'shami accepted the invitation. [Summary] [GF221633 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 22 May 83]

CSO: 4400/331

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

BRIEFS

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PHILIPPINES—The PDRY and the Philippines have agreed to establish diplomatic relations on the ambassadorial level as of 23 May 1983 in order to expand and strengthen cooperation and develop friendly relations on the basis of the UN principles. [Summary] [GF232021 Arden Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 23 May 83]

OFFICIAL DIES--'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Wali, member of the YSP Central Committee and member of the Supreme People's Council, died of a heart attack in the FRG yesterday. [Text] [GF241614 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 24 May 83]

CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY GROUP—Aden, 23 May (ANA)--Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received at the presidium secretariat today the delegation of the Chilean Communist Party headed by Comrade (Khasent Nasal), member of the Chilean Communist Party Central Committee. Relations on cooperation between the YSP and the Chilean Communist Party and a number of issues of mutual concern were discussed during the meeting. Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad expressed the PDRY support for the struggle waged by the Chilean Communist Party and the other progressive forces in Chile against the dictatorial regime of Pinochet. He also affirmed our country's complete support for the struggle waged by the progressive movement in Latin America against the dictatorial regimes and the aggressive U.S. imperialist plans. The meeting was attended by Brother 'Abd al-Ghani 'Abd al-Qadir, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the YSP Central Committee. [Text] [GF231725 Aden ANA in Arabic 1638 GMT 23 May 83]

CSO: 4400/333

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

BRIEFS

ARAB BOYCOTT OF U.S.—Abu Dhabi, 15 May (WAM)—The newspaper AL-WAHDAH called on the Arab nation to deal with the United States—which established Israel in Palestine—as a peer in our dealings with it because it has been siding with our enemy, Israel, since its establishment and up until now. AL-WAHDAH said the United States sided with a group of armed adventurers against a defenseless people who had just rid themselves of alien occupation and with a deliberately hatched plot enabled the alien settlers to occupy the land and kill part of its people and expel the rest abroad. Concluding, the newspaper AL-WAHAD affirmed that all evidence proves to us that the establishment of the racist Zionist state is in fact an overseas U.S. state and a U.S. extension in our Arab homeland. "Why, then, do not we deal with the United States as it deals with us? Why do not we find in the history of the United States and its administrations' stands from Truman until Reagan reason for an eternal boycott," the paper asks. [Excerpts] [GF150744 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0650 GMT 15 May 83]

LABOR LAW VIOLATORS—The administration of al-'Ayn police directorate in cooperation with a committee from the Labor and Society Affairs Ministry investigators launched a search campaign for labor and immigration law violators in the country. The search campaign which began at 0200 yesterday and continued until after midday, resulted in the arrest of more than 700 labor law violators. [Text] [GF161423 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 16 May 83]

CSO: 4400/334

RAFSANJANI CLAIMS SUPERPOWERS' PLOT DEFEATED BY 'ISLAMIC NATIONALISTS'

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 119, 28 Apr 83 pp 4, 5

[Text] Rafsanjani, obviously with the growing sense of nationalism in mind, decided to startle his Friday prayers congregation last week with a claim that there had been a joint United States-Soviet plot in the summer of 1980 against Iran's territorial integrity. And to imply that it was the "Islamic" force of the republic which had saved the motherland when the armed forces were at their weakest, the economy was grappling with an American-imposed blockade and enemy agents were roaming freely around.

Rafsanjani said he was in possession of documents which proved the existence of the plot but did not specify the nature of the evidence. He seemed confident that once documents in the United States and the Soviet Union were declassified they would reveal to the world details of the plot.

He said the Soviets knew well in advance of Iraqi plans to invade Iran in September, 1980. They had received advance U.S. backing for the attack, he claimed. "It stands to reason to believe that the Soviets knew well in advance of the Iraqi military plans to launch a major onslaught against Iran," he said. "The Iraqi army was then fully-equipped with Soviet weapons and so thousands of Soviet personnel were advising the Iraqis on the use of them and on other matters.

"With the presence of so many Russians with the Iraqi army it was natural that any movement, any large scale preparation, would come to Soviet attention, just as in the previous regime's army everything was under American control here."

Rafsanjani said the plot was primarily aimed at the Islamic republic because several American plots against it had failed. At that stage both superpowers gave Saddam Hussain the task of carrying out the first stage of the plot--to occupy Khuzestan and set up an independent state to be called Arabistan. He was not sure how the imperialists planned to populate the separated territory but he hinted that reports of Yasser Arafat's frequent visits to Baghdad at that time could mean that the plan was to settle Palestinians in Khuzestan, a possible means to settle the Palestinian problem.

Obviously, Rafsanjani said, the Soviets wanted their share of the booty. He believed that they were to get vassal administrations in Azarbaijan, Kurdistan

and possibly the Turkomansahra and Mazandaran. He claimed that former president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr was helping both superpowers to carry out the plot. The West supported him as the liberal influence in the revolution while the East branded him a progressive revolutionary. Bani-Sadr was preventing the army from doing its job. Rafsanjani said it was the weight of Islamic fundamentalism in the revolution which has succeeded in preserving the homeland.

No other force could have been strong enough to preserve the homeland from sure disintegration in the face of such a plot, he said. The so-called nationalists would have been too weak to stand up against America, while the Mojahedin was already hand in glove with the Americans, Iraqis and Palestinians--he stressed he meant the "wrong" kind of Palestinians.

Since his remarks Tehran radio commentators have taken up the theme that preservation of Iran's national identity and territorial integrity is far too important to be left to "nationalists" who were weak against Eastern ideology and at the same time alien "to true Islamic values that the Iranian people so cherish."

One commentator said that before Islam came to Iran its genius could not be developed. Iran was only known in social terms, or for military conquest and imperialism. Islamic civilisation had allowed its true culture and force to come to fruition.

On Army Day recently references for the first time were to the "national" and not the Islamic army, observers also point out.

CSO: 4600/626

COMMERCE MINISTER GETS COOL RECEPTION IN ALGERIA

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 120, 5 May 83

[Text] Algerian officials gave an unenthusiastic reception to a trade delegation from Iran led by commerce minister Asghar Owladi, reliable sources said this week.

Asghar Owladi offered to sign a trade deal while in Algiers, but he only managed to sign a protocol which contained for the barter arrangements he had hoped for. He was told that Algiers did not need the oil which was the only commodity Iran had for sale and it did not export wheat, meat and similar items which Tehran usually sought.

The source said the Algerians were behind the mullahs' indulgent attitude over paying their debts to American banks. But these payments have recently produced complaints of hypocrisy against the mullahs, who keep such an anti-U.S. stance in public.

CSO: 4600/627

MULLAHS LAY CLAIM TO BEING TRUE IRANIAN NATIONALISTS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 119, 28 Apr 83 p 4

[Text] The fact that the mullahs are beginning to sense the direction of the mood of the people is reflected by the subtle change of emphasis from the all-embracing "Islamic" blanket term to events and institutions to selective references to "Iranian" or "national" bodies or interests.

Even Khomeini himself has dabbled in the game in the past week. He referred several times in a speech to "Irani" and "Iraniyat" (Iranian and Iranian identity) in a manner he has avoided previously. He was surprisingly mild about the opposition to his regime, except for the Mojahedin, whose standing has been further lowered by the missile attacks by their Iraqi allies.

Khomeini said there were groups who served to promote the interests of the West, others of the East, and both had claims to belong to and represent the nation. But Iran no longer recognized them as Iranians. "We do not consider Iranian he who sells his whole Islamic and national values to the Soviets or the United States," he said.

Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani and other officials, as well as the media, have also introduced the subject of nationalism in the past couple of weeks. This is seen by some Iranian observers as a response to both rising nationalist as distinct from Islamic feeling inside Iran and to their intelligence reports that finally the centrist and more monarchist nationalist groups in exile are gathering around the old constitution and developing their theme that the mullahs are the enemies and not the upholders of Iranian nationalism going back 2,500 years.

CSO: 4600/626

EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON ARREST, CONFESSIONS OF TUDEH LEADERS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 5 May 83 pp 1, 4

[Text]

The arrests, trials and confessions of the leaders of the communist party, the Tudeh, is yet another great victory in the course of the miraculous history of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The admission of the Tudeh leaders that their party was mainly a wing of the K.L.B aimed at a political penetration of Iran, points out not only in the direction of total effacement of Marxism from the face of Iranian society but also heralds the global end of Marxism and indelible ignominy which would survive Marxism itself.

The Tudeh Party, like all other enemies of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, fell by the stroke of the mighty sword of "Neither the East, Nor the West". This purely Islamic slogan of the Moslem masses of Iran dug the graves of the internal and external agents and mercenaries of the superpowers, who have penetrated the Third World countries, long before they even suspected that their annihilation was near. This purely Islamic political criterion sealed the fate of deviates as much as it ensured the integrity of the independence and self-determination of the Islamic Republic. It was this very simple slogan which brought the Tudeh Party's decades-old career of treachery to its ignominious end, when the ugly reality of this party was exposed through the words of its own leaders.

This slogan helped the Islamic Republic in ensuring the country from the future dangers of Eastern and Western neo-colonialism. It also represents the greatest promise that this revolution holds out to the oppressed peoples of the Third World. It was this slogan which cleared the Iranian political scene in the last four years of all brands of superpower agents and represents the greatest political model for the people of the Third World to purge their countries and governments of the agents and mercenaries of the Eastern and Western Superpowers.

Given this great victory of the Islamic Revolution against the puppets of superpowers, it is only

logical that the Eastern and Western imperialist press media should downplay the stunning confessions of the Tudeh Party leaders

We hope that this delivering slogan "Neither the East, nor the West", will be adopted by all the oppressed nations of the Third World. They will certainly find in it a great weapon with which they can successfully fight the internal and external enemies of their independence and self-determination. It is only with help of this weapon that they can fight those who have divided the political scene in their country between the agents of KGB and CIA who infest the left-wing and the right-wing parties throughout the world.

The example of the Tudeh Party is enough to illuminate the reality of the Marxist parties and organizations that plague the Third World. The people of the Third World should understand that neither the power-and-money-hungry capitalists nor the ideological slaves of the KGB can solve the indigenous ethical, social, human, economic and political problems. All these puppets are capable of, is to turn their countries into satellites of the Soviet Union or U.S. and drive their country into expensive and fruitless involvement in superpower rivalries.

We believe the admissions of the Tudeh Party leaders will finish off Marxism throughout the world. If Marxism was fatally wounded by the Russian aggression against Afghanistan, the Tudeh disclosures will bury its corpse in the Third World. The "Tudeh Parties" of the Third World countries-- and their "Kianouris" will not survive the effect of these revelations.

It should also serve as an eyeopener for liberation movements which have erroneously adopted the enslaving creed of Marxism. They should realise that the fate of Babrak Karmal and Kianouri are quite similar, in spite of their apparent dissimilarity. [as published] In both cases, the desire to liberation and freedom guided by the Marxist faith landed them in the Rus-

sian cage and in the arms of the super-comrade. If Marxism were acceptable as an ideology of liberation, we should also accept the inescapable outcome of making the Third World a Russian or Chinese backyard, with the same kind of relationship to the Communist bloc as Latin America stands in with regard to the U.S.

The people and sincere leaders of the Third World would realise sooner or later that only Islamic ideology and reliance on the power of God and negation of the oppressive powers of the East and the West will bring true happiness, independence, liberation and true self-determination to the oppressed nations of the world.

Here is also a great lesson for the Palestinians to carefully choose their leaders and to decide who truly represents their aspirations. They should rest

assured that choice of KGB agents as leaders would only mean a transfer of power from Zionists hands into the clutches of tyrants in Kremlin and all in the name of liberation, freedom and socialism. The Palestinian people should adopt the "Neither Eastern, nor Western" criterion for choosing their leaders. If they choose such leaders they will also have the total guarantee that the struggle of the people of Palestine and the blood of their martyrs will not lead to just a shift of power in Palestine from U.S. agents to Soviet slaves.

CSO: 4600/615

RELATIONS BETWEEN MULLAHS, MOSCOW REPORTEDLY ENTER NEW PHASE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 119, 28 Apr 83 p 5

[Text] Relations between Moscow and the mullahs have entered a new phase as a result of the emphatic Soviet stand over the arrest and planned trial of Nouredin Kianuri and other leaders of the pro-Moscow communist Tudeh party in Iran.

The visit of the top Soviet foreign ministry official dealing with Iranian affairs to Tehran early in April apparently resulted in the decision to postpone the imminent trial of Kianuri and the others sine die. Significantly neither the visit nor the expulsion of Soviet diplomats from France and some other countries were not publicized in the Tehran media.

Sources in Tehran say the Soviets made it clear that would do everything in their power to safeguard the lives of the Tudeh defendants, who were originally accused of working for the KGB but later had the charges against them changed to conspiring against the security of the state. It is rumoured that the Soviets told the mullahs they were aware that the move against the Tudeh was made with an eye to making up to the West, but said they had better drop the ploy or extreme sanctions would be taken against them.

Obvious pressure which the Soviets could exercise with Tehran was provided by the fact that Syria and North Korea, both under the influence of Moscow, are main suppliers of arms to Iran. The United States was also said to have reimposed a new embargo on indirect sales of its arms to Iran where possible. The Iranian forces' continuing problem in obtaining arms was reflected in the adoption of human wave tactics again in the most recent outbreak of fighting in the south of Iraq and Iran.

CSO: 4600/626

FRENCH JOURNALISTS SAY IRAQIS ARE EQUIPPED TO DO BETTER IN WAR

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE IN English No 119, 28 Apr 83

[Text] In spite of the fact that their morale is now improved and they are achieving better results in the fighting the Iraqi forces are not realizing the potential of the sophisticated equipment with which they are supplied, French journalists who visited the Iraqi side of the front after the recent first phase of the Val Fajr offensive reported.

The newsmen said they were surprised to see the lavish quarters of the Iraqi officers. These were behind the defences built by the Iraqis on marshy land; they had dug hundreds of ditches which were deep in water and barbed wire criss-crossed the whole area. The land was mined so thickly that it was virtually impossible for conventional armies to cross. Tanks were partly buried in the ground and their heavy guns used as artillery.

The result of this and the human wave tactics of the Iranians was that an estimated 14,000 Iranians died in the first phase of the offensive. The newsmen said it was estimated 300,000 could have been killed in the war so far—over 200,000 of them Iranian.

CSO: 4600/626

IRAN

FORMER MINISTER SAYS NEARLY 200,000 HAVE DIED IN IRAN OUTSIDE THE WAR

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 119, 28 Apr 83 p 6

[Text] Hushang Nahavandi, a former minister and chancellor of Tehran University, told an interviewer on the French commercial radio station RTL this week that nearly 200,000 people had died in Iran, either executed or in civil war, since the Islamic revolution four years, RTL has one of the widest audiences of any radio programmes in France.

Nahavandi said his information had been derived from figures in the Iranian press, from hospitals and other sources. He included those killed in fighting in Kurdistan and the Turkomansahra, and other tribal areas. He regretted the silence of the world about this genocide.

The interview marked the publication of Nahavani's latest book, entitled "Iran: Anatomy of the Revolution." Nahavandi said the ayatollahs were largely terrorists disguised as ayatollahs who had been educated and trained in Moscow, Prague, Cuba and in Palestinian camps.

He said he believed that if Iran fell into the hands of the Russians the Persian Gulf and then the whole of North Africa would also be gone. He saw the role of the opposit-on outside Iran as one of drawing the world's attention to what has been happening in Iran and the dangers of the situation.

CSO: 4600/626

MODERATE OPPOSITION GROUPS INTENSIFY UNITY BID

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 119, 28 Apr 83 p 6

[Text] The drive towards unity among Iranian opposition groups, which was strengthened late last month when 30 groups participated in a congress sponsored by the Front for the Liberation of Iran (FLI) has now intensified with new initiatives from two leading figures in Shapour Bakhtiar and Ahmad Madani. The former was the last prime minister of Iran before Khomeini took over, while Madani is a former minister for the Khomeini regime who defected and went into exile.

The cornerstone of the new bid was laid when FLI leader Ali Amini endorsed the young Shah's claim to the throne by praising him for leaving the final verdict on whether he obtains it to a popular vote (see IPS No 117).

At the same time Amini asserted the wish of the groups within the FLI to accept Iran's 1906 constitution as the only legal document to be recognized once the mullahs were overthrown.

Now a leading article in Nehzat, the official mouthpiece of Shapour Bakhtiar's National Movement of Iranian Resistance (NAMIR), avers that conditions were now so ripe for the much-sought-after unity among nationalist groups that it could be seen to be within easy grasp.

Nehzat believes that the young Shah's latest message provides the necessary basis for unity between the monarchists who faithfully support the Shah and all other groups who accept national sovereignty. It said a great deal of soul-searching had gone on among the various nationalist groups, including the Amini faction and the monarchists, to bring about the present "meeting of minds" between them. Nehzat now believes that Amini's supporters, who it said at one time insisted on embracing some former colleagues of Khomeini, has chosen a purely nationalist path.

Thanks to adjustments in positions of the different groups, including that of Madani, the nationalists had arrived at a common platform. An outcome of this was they were now in a position to work in unison.

NAMIR has always advocated the adoption of such a common platform, the paper said. However, as other nationalist groups had now realized, totalitarian

parties like the Mojahedin-e-Khalq had had no place in this unified front because they did not share the common objectives of the nationalists. This still held true despite the recent acceptance of the national flag of Iran, minus the famed lion and sun symbol, as well as some nationalist slogans, by the NCR.

Observers in Paris saw Nehzat's editorial as a deliberate move by NAMIR to strengthen and encourage the movement for unity.

Meanwhile sources close to Madani have said that he, too, has recommended his supporters to cooperate fully with the other nationalist groups. He has said that they have sufficient common objectives "today as well as in the Iran of tomorrow" for them to be able to work closely together.

He also agrees with Bakhtiar that while the Mojahedin rank and file may be truly patriotic, the path chosen by the leadership of the National Council of Resistance for the future of Iran is radically different from that chosen by the nationalists.

That Rajavi and possibly some others on the National Council of Resistance have also recognized the nationalistic mood of Iranians everywhere is evident from the Mojahedin's recent statement that he was ready to work with all opposition groups who are dedicated to the cause of democracy. This seemed a marked departure, for previously the Mojahedin had insisted on their hegemony over other groups. So far, however, Rajavi had not been able to convince the other nationalists of his sincerity.

Observers, however, see his efforts to appease nationalists as a sign of weakness. Dissension among the NCR members over Rajavi's policy on Iraq and other matters and the irritation among the rank and file of the constant adulation for the leader in Mojahedin and other publications, very similar to that accorded the late Shah in the Tehran media during his reign, have already begun a drift away to right and left of the movement. The more left-inclined have renewed links with Marxist groups who are now trying to revive the former Marxist confederation of Iranian students.

CSO: 4600/626

JAPANESE REFUSE TO PAY IRAN'S PRICE FOR OIL

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 119, 28 Apr 83 p 8

[Text] Japanese buyers have refused to buy oil from Iran at the same price as in the past year—28 dollars a barrel. An Iranian delegation which went to Tokyo to try to renew the recently-expired agreement returned home empty-handed.

The main advantage to Iran of selling oil to Japan was in being paid in hard currency which could be spent on crucial goods like arms and medical supplies. For Japan the advantage was that it could ask for a discount because of their ability to pay the cash. But suddenly the Iranians have decided it is in their interests to try to protect OPEC by selling at the original price.

Because of their difficulty in selling oil sources believe the mullahs will sell as much oil on the spot market as is possible. They may also be tempted to sell crude to South Africa—if they are not already doing so. Some reports have suggested they were selling to Pretoria so they could buy steel, car spare parts and foodstuffs in return.

CSO: 4600/626

SOVIETS CRITICIZE TEHRAN'S MOVES AGAINST TUDEH

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 120, 5 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Soviet Union denied in midweek that its diplomatic representatives abruptly expelled from Tehran by the Islamic authorities on Wednesday had been involved in subversive activities. Nor had members of the pro-Moscow Tudeh communist party spied for the Soviet Union, the Moscow press said, dismissing the events in Tehran as "part of an anti-Soviet propaganda campaign."

The western press saw the confession of Tudeh leaders to their spying activities for the Soviets and the dissolution of the party as a clear sign of a rupture of relations between the two countries. But most Iranian observers said this failed to understand the real significance of the events, which was, they felt, one more stage in the long-term plan of Khomeini or those who act in his name to destroy all the different sections of possible or real opposition to the regime.

Khomeini himself, in a rare statement on such an occasion, put the matter into what for many Iranians was the true perspective of the authorities. People must not get the impression that the crackdown on the Tudeh meant the Islamic republic was turning towards America or the west, he said; it was a further demonstration of the regime's independence and its ability to act ruthlessly against those who served outside interests or were the enemies of Islam.

And he went on to enumerate the enemies whom the representatives of Islam had obliterated since the revolutionary period--the late Shah and his men, Shariat-Madari and his party, Bani-Sadr and then the Mojahedin. Now it was a group which had been plotting for a very long time.

Khomeini took great pains to boost the part of the revolutionary guards in exposing the deep plot of the Tudeh activists, returning repeatedly to a theme of praise for them and their unique abilities to carry out such a task. The fact that the guards' leader Mohsen Rezaei was allowed to make some of the important announcements about the arrests also intrigued observers, because he had been out of the limelight for so long.

Rezaei's appeal to the public not to take the law into its own hands were seen as confirmation of reports that not only had many suspected Tudeh members been

badly beaten by workmates and teams of hezbollahis who leapt into action but even houses belonging to members of the party had been burned. At least 20 were said to have been set on fire in the Naziabad area in south Tehran. Rezaei said the public must ensure the Tudeh members reported to the authorities but must not take the law into their own hands.

By midweek the Tudeh members were warned that if they did not report to the prosecutor general's office in a week they would face the severest penalties imposed on counter-revolutionaries.

While Iranian observers saw resentment over the Soviet backing for Iraq and recent attempts to intervene on behalf of the Tudeh members under arrest as possible reasons encouraging the regime in its action they felt more domestic factions were involved. One was the need to distract people from the current obsession with the economic and other difficulties facing the country and the other the pressures of more right wing elements who have long wanted the Tudeh broken up to weaken the hand of Moscow in Iran. The action was seen by some observers as clear evidence that the more conservative faction now has the upper hand over the radicals.

CSO: 4600/627

UNION OF MONARCHIST ORGANIZATIONS GAINING GROUND

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 120, 5 May 83 p 2

[Text] A plan for a congress of pro-monarchist opposition groups among Iranian exiles sparked off by the Paris-based Iran Azad movement, has been given a warm response among the groups, the sponsors say. At least 30 groups have so far intimated they are ready to attend a gathering in Germany later this month.

The need for the monarchist support to unify itself is now being felt more than ever, a spokesman said. There was need to demonstrate just how strong support for the monarchy is so that the young Shah can become fully aware of it as well as other nationalist movements.

Later it was hoped to organise a much larger congress for even independent monarchists to attend to allow the movement to gain as much impetus as possible.

CSO: 4600/627

IRAQI COMMUNISTS SAID TRYING TO COORDINATE KURDISH ACTIVITIES

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 120, 5 May 83 p 2

[Text] The Iraqi communist party leaders have initiated a plan to help Kurdish insurgents in Iraq to coordinate their military activities with armed units of Iranian Kurds under the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Abdulrahman Ghassemloo, Israel radio reported this week.

The Israeli report came in the wake of a widening gap between Ghassemloo and Masoud Rajavi, leader of the Mojahedin-e-Khalq, within the National Council of Resistance.

In its latest issue the Kurdish Democratic Party's official publication has criticised the Mojahedin leadership for its revisionist ideas, its efforts to establish ties with the Iranian army and its dubious attitude towards the question of regional autonomy.

The publication pointed out that the recent attacks on Kurdish strongholds were carried out not exclusively by revolutionary guards but also by units of the regular army which were equipped with heavy weapons, including armoured vehicles. It said it was the high accuracy of the artillery fire of the army which was so effective against the Kurdish fighters "otherwise the guards would not have dared attack our units."

The paper also said the Mojahedin were engaged in their own "show-off" projects in Kurdish areas, these designed to assert their hegemony, rather than work for a cause. In the matter of their relations with the Iranian army the Mojahedin were not aiming at total annihilation of an army which was "essentially professional and devoid of high ideals."

The Mojahedin's claim to be in favour of a people's army did not fall in line with their deeds. "In vain they try to befriend an army which has proved it is always against the interests of the people," the paper said.

Seen in the light of the differences between the KDP and the Mojahedin the Iraqi communists move to bring about unity between Iranian and Iraqi kurds is possibly important.

In the past leftist Kurds have been cooperating on both sides of the border between Iran and Iraq. However, in the 10 years between 1965-75, the fighting in Kurdish areas of Iraq was done mainly by Mullah Mostafa Barzani's forces, whose leftist ideology was more an acknowledgment of their faith in their leader than their own ideas. So when Barzani began to receive help from the Shah and at times from the Israelis in his fight against Baghdad, he appeared to prefer such help to what the Soviets and other communists could give them.

CSO: 4600/627

REVOLUTIONARY COURTS START CRACKDOWN ON 'ECONOMIC TERRORISM'

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 120, 5 May 83 p 3

[Text] Revolutionary courts have received new powers to deal ruthlessly with what are known as "economic terrorists," Iranians inside the country have told IPS.

Under a new mandate the courts are empowered to send in special squads to arrest and bring to book merchants, shopkeepers, factory managers and others in business and industry who are suspected of any form of market rigging or profiteering.

These squads cannot act on their own the sources said. Only the "special clerk" at the revolutionary court could order arrests. However, the squads are authorised to enter warehouses, business premises and factories to search for evidence of economic sabotage. The squads (in Persian "gorooh-e-Zarbat") are in particular instructed to try to stop carpet smuggling and exchange frauds, which have been worrying the authorities lately.

"This is no joke," a prominent provincial merchant told IPS. "They just swarm into your premises and ask you to go to the Komiteh. This is not technically an arrest. You go there and wait to see if the clerk at the komiteh will decide to keep you or let you go."

This particular merchant was himself confined in an improvised prison in Tehran for five days while a mullah questioned him about his export business. He is a carpet exporter who was believed to have made illegal foreign exchange transfers. He was released unharmed. However, his ordeal was sufficient for him to decide to quit business, he said.

The man said that in his "prison" he saw at least five Armenians and three Europeans and an Indian all waiting to be heard by the mullah. The Europeans were given their own room and, it appeared, they had different food from the others. The Indian businessman said he preferred to stay with the Iranians and practice his Persian.

"I believe the Indian was accused of having failed to pay off debts to the bank," the merchant said. "We failed to find out why the Europeans were there."

The Armenians were accused of selling provisions to their own community. [Words indistinct] with no valid coupons. They were cool and relaxed."

The firing squad is not one of the sequels to the appearance at one of the revolutionary courts for economic crimes, the man told IPS. But everyone feared he could lose his business because of a decision of one of the mindless judges, and when one was in custody in Iran there was always the fear of ending up in the wrong place because of mistaken identity, as had happened so frequently in the past.

CSO: 4600/627

'IRNA' REPORTS ARMENIAN MARCH TO MARK 'MASSACRE DAY'

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 120, 5 May 83 p 4

[Text] The Islamic Republic News Agency reported the march through Tehran's streets of a "large" group of Armenians on the 68th anniversary of the massacre of Armenians by the Ottoman Turks. The group was chanting slogans in condemnation of the massacre of 1.5 million Armenians. At the end of the march a 5-point resolution was read in front of the Armenian church.

During the late Shah's rule such protests were not allowed, even though relations between Turkey and Iran were frequently at a lower level of enthusiasm than they are today. Tehran observers were divided over whether the decision to continue to allow the marches is designed to demonstrate to Ankara that Tehran cannot be pressured, or whether it wants to show the world that the regime can sympathize with Christians when Muslims commit crimes against them.

It was pointed out, however, that the IRNA release took care to blame the "Ottoman" Turks rather than the present society for the massacre, which is a line often used by Turks when faced with charges over the fate of the Armenians.

CSO: 4600/627

IRAN

BRIEFS

BAZARGAN'S POLITICAL OFFICE REOPENED—A report from Tehran that the office of former premier Mehdi Bazargan's ;reedom Movement has reopened and that a number of former officials have been released from prison has hardened impressions that the Tehran regime now has its eyes on fresh links with the West. Among those said to have been given their freedom recently are former minister Dariush Forouhar, Safi-Asfia, and former Bani-Sadr aides Kazanfarpour and Sudabeh Suddefi. [Text] [London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 119, 28 Apr 83 p 6]

CSO: 4600/626

LEADER SAYS JUP-PWL ALLIANCE DEAD

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 p 14

[Text]

The JUP-PML alliance is "practically dead", Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi, Secretary-General of the defunct Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan, told newsmen in Karachi on Saturday.

One of the terms of the alliance, he said, was that they would inform each other beforehand of contacts with Government leaders, and added that Pir Pagaro had had meetings, every now and then, with the President and, whenever asked, Pir Sahib would say it was "merely informal."

Maulana Niazi, who returned the other day from his three-month tour abroad, demanded that a permanent board of Ulema belonging to the Shia and Sunni sects be constituted to clarify "all points needing interpretation or elucidation."

He also suggested a historical research board for "re-compiling and re-writing" the History of Islam.

Condemning the recent sectarian incidents he emphasised that no quarter should be given to the subversive elements.

Referring to the conference which he attended in Baghdad recently, Maulana Niazi said that the 300 participants decided unanimously to appeal to both Iraq and Iran to stop the "senseless war."

Iran, he said, wanted the aggressor to be named first, and the conference was of the opinion that first there should be cease-fire and then it would be determined which side had committed aggression.

The delegates left the conference with an assurance that in their respective countries they would mobilise public opinion for ending the Iraq-Iran war. He said he would like to appeal to every citizen of

Pakistan to send a cablegram to Ayatullah Khomeini and Mr. Saddam Husain in this connection.

In another context, Maulana Niazi said that at a World Islamic Mission Conference it was decided to establish a Muslim Scholar's College at The Hague for the propagation of Islamic values among the Muslim settlers in the U.K. and on the Continent. Likewise, there is a proposal to set up a Muslim Council of Mosques, which, he said, will be open to all the Muslims irrespective of their sectarian affiliations.

Reverting to the internal situation, Maulana Niazi said that MRD's politics, right from the beginning, had been "negative" in the sense that unless there was a national consensus, mere change of the Government would be "meaningless".

He suggested that the MRD and other parties should accept the nine-party PNA manifesto and on its basis come forward with a positive action programme. He told a questioner that in the PNA manifesto no mention had been made of the question of different cultures and nationalities.

Maulana Niazi, in answer to another question, said that suggestions of a new political structure or of proportional representation could only prolong the tenure of the Government.

Agency adds: As for matters relating to legislation, Maulana Niazi said laws pertaining to majority sect would be the State law, while for others, who are in minority, there could be personal laws.

About demand for ban on book "Kinzul Iman" he said it was regrettable as his party stood for free-

dom of expression and would welcome any academic and scholarly work in answer of that book.

He said over 300 delegates including those from UK, Australia, Japan etc besides all Muslim countries, except Iran, participated in the Baghdad conference.

He welcomed the Iraqi President Saddam Hussain's acceptance of the conference decisions and expressed hopes that Iran would also respond to it. ____

CSO: 4600/619

GOVERNMENT WITHOUT POLITICS CALLED A MISNOMER; POLITICAL CLIMATE ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN in English 7 May 83 p 11

[Article by A. T. Chaudhri]

[Text] **THOUGH** the very term "politics" has somehow acquired a vulgar connotation in this country, which is reminiscent of the early phase of the Ayub era, the fact remains that government and politics are connate and co-existent. In fact, government without politics is a misnomer.

In spite of the fact that the national polity, a command polity as distinct from demand polity, has been avowedly de-politicised since the advent of 'islamisation' — and this presents a sharp contrast to the politicisation of polity in revolutionary Iran — those in power have not ceased to be politically motivated in running the affairs of the State, both internal and external. They might protest, and protest too much, that they have divorced politics from government. But this is euphemistic — if not an exercise in sophistry — for politics and government are indissolubly interlinked, with little or no chance of a divorce.

The brief honeymoon of the present regime with the deceased PNA, which had a fitful spell in power, was a political act. So was the process of accountability of the oppositionists, the on-off pledges of taking the country to the polls and the holding of "partyless" local body elections, in September, 1979, followed by the screening of "undesirables" with party affiliations. So

also was the periodic mending and amending of the 1973 Constitution, the recurrent promulgation of Ordinances and Presidential Orders, the clipping of the wings of the Judiciary, and the imposition of Press censorship for a couple of years — to say nothing of other far-reaching measures to ring out the old order and ring in the new.

Foreign relations

Above all, the very conduct of foreign relations, notably Pakistan's entry into the Non-Aligned fold, its cohesion with the resurgent Muslim World, the revival of old linkage with the US, the stress on the outlawry of war with India and the over-cautious handling of the Afghan crisis — all this forms part of a political-cum-diplomatic strategy in keeping with the geopolitical and geostrategic interests of the nation. In a way, the Generals who sit tight on the Pandora's box of national politics, may claim to have fared better than the politicians in the beset bazaar of international politics.

Thus, speaking in broad context, politics has not been entirely outlawed in Pakistan. The very polarisation of society — one segment supporting the Martial Law regime to the hilt and another section trying hard to pull it down — is a political phenomenon. It is politics by any standards. Notwithstanding the demobilisation of political parties, the sealing of their offices,

the freezing of their funds and the quarantining of some of their irrepressible leaders — and this has not deterred the favoured fundamentalists from carrying on business as usual — politics continues to run in the veins and arteries of the nation. To deny this is to pull wool on the eyes of the discerning observers.

Yet, it is difficult to comprehend why the term politics and politicians — at least a particular brand — should invariably be decried and derided by the powers that be. Is it not the recognised function of politics and politicians to lower the barriers dividing ethnic groups, regional entities and sectarian factions? Is it not their destined role to forge national unity through association, through debate and discussion and through thrusts and counter-thrusts which not only reinvigorate national life but also help evolve a consensus on national issues of major import?

Shoora party

Again, is it not the alchemy of politics that transforms a heterogeneous welter of people into a homogeneous society and imparts it a new elan, a new will to sink or swim, live and die together?

Seen in this light, one cannot but react with a sigh of relief at President Zia's off-the-cuff declaration, the other day: "I am as much a politician as anybody else." The President also conceded at a recent Press conference, in Karachi, that

he would not rule out the need for political parties to grease the wheels of "politics and political framework." Yet he continues to insist that he has no political ambition and would never strut on the national stage as a politician or form a political party to contest an election. These seemingly contradictory public pronouncements need not baffle the political analysts. They have to keep their fingers crossed.

What is worth noting is that some of the vocal elements in the Majlis-i-Shoora have lately begun to flex their political muscle. They are openly lobbying for floating a "Shoora Party" — perhaps a prototype of Ayub's Convention League — with the Chairman of the Majlis Khwaja Safdar as its convener. This organisation in embryo, it is being canvassed, should draw up a party constitution, frame a Manifesto, raise funds for politicking, launch a membership drive and ultimately choose a charismatic leader with vote-catching capacity to ensure a painless transition from Martial Law to Islamic democracy.

Whether or not Gen Zia is going to oblige the highly politicised highpriests of the Shoora — who are currently busy framing the new political system — and don a politician's mantle, is anybody's guess. (By tradition Generals like to retire

into politics). Already, the President has liberalised indoor politics to satisfy the political itch of crestfallen politicians confined to the basement and has personally taken a hand in outdoor politics to break the monotony of long-drawn-out political vacuum. This is more than evident from his recent "meet-the-people" campaign and a flurry of what they call "civic jalsas" which have caught the dissident politicians unawares.

Word has gone round that the government is violating Martial Law rules and regulations prohibiting political activity and some activist elements have threatened to hold public meetings in defiance of the existing ban. Others have thrown a challenge to those sitting atop the pyramid of power to discard one-sided politicking and allow the political parties (defunct) to address public rallies and the enfranchised multitudes to their points of view. These new stirrings should not send a cold shiver down the spine of the government. They clearly indicate that the democratic urges of the people have not been benumbed. These urges still have what may be called a "muzzle velocity", which can be directed into wholesome channels.

Now, any attempt to drive this velocity underground would be ill-advised. It has to be properly tap-

ped. The President's anxiety to mobilise the people for the next round of local body elections is understandable. But the process of mass mobilisation (or politicisation) should not be a one-way traffic.

Different opinions

Different shades of opinion should be allowed to find a projection in the new scheme of things. If that involves a piecemeal revival of political activity, there is nothing to feel disturbed about it. People must be reactivated and exposed to the onrush of conformist as well as dissident schools of thought to ensure the buoyancy and vibrance of grass-roots democracy and to obtain public sanction for the new political system in the offing.

The new order must be based on public consultation and popular approval. It can find its moorings only if the people are treated not as receptive sponges but as active participants in the governance of State. That is the quintessence of politics in a nation. The President's debut into this national politics augurs well for the shape of things to come. He should now move forward confidently and also take the politicians into confidence to help this nation keep its date with destiny — an elusive destiny.

NATIONAL POWER CONTROL SYSTEM PLANNED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, May 7: A national power control centre is to be set up in Islamabad to serve as nerve centre of the entire electricity system in the country.

This was stated by Minister for Water and Power, Raja Sikandar Zaman Khan in an interview with Radio Pakistan's representative in Islamabad here today.

He said the centre would be responsible for electricity operation, and maintenance of proper voltage levels throughout the country. It would also be responsible for load and energy management.

Raja Sikandar Zaman Khan said WAPDA would add about 3,000 MW of electricity to the existing generating capacity of 4,800 MW in the Sixth Plan period. Three thousand villages will be provided with electricity every year in the plan period.

In reply to a question, he said, government would consider concrete proposals for power generation which would be put forward by the private sector.

He said power generation from Mangla Dam is now at par with the rated capacity due to rise in water level in the Jhelum River but water level at Tarbela is still low and only 96 MW of electricity was being generated from each unit as against the rated capacity of 175 MW.

Replying to another question Raja Sikandar Zaman said engineering study of the Kala Bagh Dam will be completed by the end of this year and final project report would be submitted to the government early next year. On completion the dam would have storage capacity of 7.7 million acre feet of water and power generating capacity of 1760 MW.

The Water and Power Minister said there is also a plan for the construction of a dam on the River Indus at Basha, about 200 miles upstream of Tarbela. This dam will have storage capacity of ten million acre feet of water and will be used for power generation with an ultimate generating capacity of 2000 MW.

He said that the Khanpur Dam will be completed by the end of next month.--APP.

CSO: 4600/168

ENGINEERING BANK FOR COUNTRY PROPOSED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 Business Supplement p III

[Article by Yusuf H. Shirazi]

[Text.]

ALL INDICATIONS are that the next five years are a precious time available to Pakistan to develop its capabilities for self-sustaining growth. We may not have support of foreign loans and credits, and home remittances after that; hence, there is a need for radical change in our attitude, approach and efforts for self reliance.

This need for change is particularly great in the engineering goods industry. If through careful and courageous decisions, a basis is laid now to build up this "mother industry", we would ensure overall industrial development and emergence of a balanced, modern economy.

We will avoid facing repetition of cases like setting up the textile industry, which has been producing yarn and other textiles piece goods, while we continue importing large amounts of machinery, equipment, and parts for this industry — continuous avoidable, large, imports of high value-added goods against exports of relatively low value-added content.

Finance strategy

Import duties make implementation and operation of projects difficult and slow due to debt/equity requirements and demands on cash resources. Import duty on engineering industry machinery and raw materials, not produced in Pakistan, thus deserves to be re-

moved. Such a move will give strong impetus to growth of engineering goods industry.

Similarly, import of plant under usance arrangements provides additional credit sources which may be made use of as far as possible. Duty and other charges may be assessed and collected only on the value of the machinery and not on the components of the usance amount which, otherwise, would become very heavy and deterring in case interest for three to five years is added on for assessment of duties making the local product of these machines quite uncompetitive.

Interest component of plant and machinery cost imported under usance arrangements may thus be treated as normal business expense.

No income tax should be collected under Sub-section (5) of Section (50) of the Income Tax Act, if the assessee is liable to pay advance tax under Section (53) during the financial year, in which the goods are imported. Presently, income tax at the rate of 2% is being collected on all imports irrespective of the fact, whether finally tax is due or not. This amounts to changing definition of the tax on income — which is conceptually wrong, unjust and unfair. The unfairness and bother is further increased as, in practice, the Government's policy on issuing refund is excessively cumbersome, nonresponsive and costly for the industry.

Closely connected with this measure is the desirability of initial de-

preciation on investment on balancing, modernization and replacement (BMR) to be increased from 25% to 40%. This would give boost to BMR investments which are usually more cost effective than investment on completely fresh units and all other investments and produce cheaper goods, making local production competitive and consequently checkmating smuggling.

It follows also that tax credit should be allowed on the cost of plant and machinery as well as on the installation costs associated with such acquisition.

Similarly, 5% sales tax on locally produced automotive parts is an excessive burden as there exists no standardisation in this industry, production is in small volumes, and in small batches. This additional burden of 5% is a major handicap in its rapid growth, under these production conditions in the Plant and rampant smuggling and under-invoicing in the market place.

Smuggling has, however, increased instead of decreasing. It includes spare parts of all types and sizes to as big an item as huge and heavy automotive batteries and motorcycles and other items, and despite the system of giving award to customs official to "catch" smugglers. The system has its impact on those who do not indulge in smuggling or in over-and under-invoicing and, therefore, suffer more as many officials tend to interpret all laws, rules and facts for severest assessments against such businessmen.

For assisting the development of engineering goods industry, an Engineering Bank of Pakistan may be created by nominating one of the banks like, Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP) or National Development Finance Corporation (NDFC) or a commercial bank, on the same pattern as adopted in promoting agriculture, through Agricultural Development Bank of Pakistan (ADBP). This will create a specialised institution with the understanding of the specialised demands of engineering goods industry and is bound to adopt a more flexible approach to the industry, in general and specially towards those with proven record of performance and repayments.

For larger projects, of promoters

with sound experience and record, even 80 to 90% credit finance may be provided as in Japan, Korea, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, etc. to expedite formulation and implementation of capital intensive industries.

Industrial outlook

Now that the first few phases of the deletion programme for automotive vehicles and particularly for motorcycles have been implemented to a large degree, a realistic but challenging deletion programme may be approved for engine manufacture particularly for the motorcycle industry, which is presently under consideration. In view of the heavy financial outlay — about Rs. 500 million — and even more so due to necessity of induction of new technologies, a programme for engine manufacture be approved, aimed at achieving 83% deletion — say by 1988.

A study of two cases particularly prepared at Harvard University on development of auto industry, viz., "Ford in Spain" and "A Note on the Auto Industry" already submitted to the government for consideration suggest adoption of a programme of engine manufacturing based on experience of developed countries as well as developing countries, such as, USA, UK, Germany, France, Japan and Korea, Brazil, Mexico, Spain, Nigeria, etc.

Local deletion depend upon the industrial level of a country. In Japan, for example, it is 100 per cent and in China about 75 per cent. In Pakistan, the level of technology itself is just above 50% while localisation is just about 25 per cent.

An obvious but neglected area may finally receive attention, that is, unnecessary, even improper imports of full CKD kits when local components are available. In order to utilise available capacity as well as to implement the spirit of KD imports, assembly kits for cars, trucks, tractors, buses, vans, etc., may be allowed only without parts which are locally available in sufficient quantities and in good quality, like, radiators, batteries, etc. as is done in many other countries.

CKD vs CBU

The two cases cited above, namely, "Ford in Spain" and "A Note on Auto Industry" covering both the developed and developing countries, emphasise the development of auto industry, not for foreign exchange savings or lower prices, when produced locally — at least to begin with. Unfortunately, an impression has been created here that the import of parts in knocked down/semi knocked down condition for local assembly and progressive local manufacture must be cheaper than the fully built-up units. Our experience for a number of years has been the other way round, and particularly of import of knocked down parts from Japan.

The experience in other countries, mentioned above, shows numerous facilities for local manufacture including banning and restricting the import of fully built-up units in order to encourage the manufacture of indigenous products. There is a case of banning fully built-up units, wherever, there is substantial local manufacture of such vehicles or restricting their imports through fixing categories for them and more so reducing duties on components for local assembly from present 45% to 30% being equivalent to the duty on Suzuki cars in the public sector in KD condition. There must be a distinction on duty on cars used by higher strata of income and motorcycles used by the lower middle class.

Import facilities

Cutting tools are a basic requirement for engineering industry. In order to encourage precision and quality, import of these tools may be allowed at nominal duty. Also in order to facilitate investment balancing and modernization, free list of import of machines tools should be extended to include tools, steel, jigs, fixtures, dies and moulds.

NEED FOR RESEARCH IN SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY TERMED IMPERATIVE

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 Business Supplement p III

[Article by Azim Kidwai]

[Text]

BE IT industrial growth or agricultural output, or the overall socio-economic development of a country, the most potent common denominator to give impetus to the present day complex and pressing developmental sectors is science and technology.

This basic fact has had little recognition from the planners until the Sixth Five-Year Plan came on the anvil. The change in perception and outlook was visible, for the first time, only as the Working Group on Science & Technology for the Plan, started work about six months ago. Instead of mere lip service, there was will apparent to loosen the purse strings for bringing science and technology in use for economic development.

During the last two decades the scientists did gripe about the low funding on R & D that was hovering around 0.17% (one-sixth of one per cent), but those who mattered could not see the light. In spite of the UN World Plan of Action of 1971 for the developing countries that recommended a minimum investment of one per cent of GNP, year after year, the spendings on R & D in the S & T (Science and Technology) sector were extremely limited, not exceeding the dismal figure of one-fifth of one per cent.

Against this chilling reality, the scientists raised their voice at different forums but the thinking in the corridors of power did not change. Neither the priorities were

set right, nor came the recognition that science and technology were an integral part of development. Such an inertia though looked amazing.

Over 97% of the \$150 billion world R & D budget is shared by the advanced nations, while less than 3% are the spendings by the poor developing countries of the Third World in such a vital sector. The result of the imbalance is there for any one to see. On one side is progress, affluence, dynamism and a high quality of life. On the other side of the fence is hunger, poverty, ill-health, dirt, and disease.

Level of funding

At the beginning of the sessions by the Group, therefore the vital question was raised about the level of possible funding over which the edifice of the S & T Plan could be raised. And, it came no less than a pleasant surprise to know that the Group could plan for about half a per cent of GNP to go to the S & T sector in the Sixth Plan period. In simpler words, that meant tripling the funds in terms of percentages.

Instead of about Rs 2,000 million spent in the Fifth Plan period ending in June this year, the Sixth Five Year Plan starting from July carries a quantum jump of around Rs 6,000 million for science and technology. It is not that the quantum of spendings proposed is something to gloat about though. It is still far too little in absolute terms, if one looks around.

Some of the western nations are

spending two to four per cent of their colossal GNPS on R & D in science. Even India has inched its way up to 0.7 per cent in recent years. And, for Pakistan with its meagre GNP, half a per cent of it makes a small figure. But perhaps, a bigger spending would not have been realistic at this stage.

The absorbing capacity and the infrastructure would not brook a heavier dose at this point of time. It might though be possible to reach that magic figure of 1% of GNP in the Seventh plan period.

What is important is that things are not that disturbing now. It is a definite improvement over our past attitudes. There appears much less hostility towards science and technology at the planning level, as if, priorities are being set right.

Change in direction

It will be a dangerous oversimplification though to say that by bringing a little component of science in the overall framework of development, elimination of poverty and hunger and malnutrition will be possible. But the change in the direction is significant. Science is not being conspicuously ignored at high official levels.

The salient features of the report of the Working Group for the Sixth Five Year Plan (with the hope that no radical changes are made at the last minute by the bureaucracy) are:

1. Strengthening the meagre R & D facilities in the Universities. A sum of Rs 500 million was indicated in the Report. But this is to be scaled up substantially after subsequent discussions with Prof. Abdus Salam.

Universities that are generally the fountain-heads of research elsewhere, have remained almost

starved on that account in Pakistan. Each University gets a few hundred thousands to distribute in its science departments with the result that nowhere a critical size has been reached to undertake any worthwhile research.

R & D by universities

The Sixth Plan envisages to change this situation radically and the universities are likely to play their legitimate role in R & D.

2. A new institute of international standard is to be established. Called the Pakistan Advanced Institute of Technology and Science, it will combine post-graduate teaching in key technologies and basic sciences with R & D. The institution will have a stamp of international level of excellence. It will be a pace-setter institution 'establishing traditions of high performance for other institutions to emulate.'

The Institute will not only carry out R & D work of a high level but will also award post-graduate degrees, which, hopefully, would guarantee academic standards associated with some of the best institutions around the world. Measures have been indicated to ensure excellence in its teaching and research. A sum of Rs 1500 million has been earmarked for the Institute.

3. An International Waterlogging and Salinity Research Institute at a cost of Rs 130 million has also been proposed, in view of the vital necessity of research in the field.

4. The Report recommends setting up of many new institutes of national level in critical areas where glaring gaps were found, namely, (a) Road Research; (b) Hydrology; (c) Power; (d) Clinical Research; (e) Desert Studies; (f) Animal Production, Health and

Dairy Science; (g) Oceanography; (h) Building Research; and (i) Hydrocarbon Development. The last three named do exist in some form, but need be substantially upgraded to a position befitting a national institution.

5. New institutions were also needed in areas that have been neglected, but are vital links in the overall development of the country. The Group, therefore, suggested the establishment of the following:

- i. Four Institutes of Rural Technologies
- ii. National School of Industrial Design
- iii. National Transport Research Centre
- iv. Nationwide Network of Technology Transfer/Development.

6. Apart from these central institutions, the provinces are to get Rs 500 million to promote R & D by strengthening the existing institutes and by setting up new ones where necessary.

7. A sum of Rs 100 million is to go for promotion of S & T in the society that includes setting up of science museums/centres.

These are the broad contours of the Report of the Working Group on S & T. The document is a bit different from the chapters on science in the past Plans that only tried to put some irreverent and often irrelevant veneer of science on things hollow. If not slashed Press reports obliquely indicate that some projects are already being cut due to constraints of economy that is "fragile" science and technology in Pakistan may undergo a subtle metamorphosis in the next few years.

By raising the present spendings on science three times in terms of GNP percentages, there is indeed light visible at the end of the tunnel!

PROVINCES ASKED TO PREPARE LOCAL BODIES ELECTION SCHEDULES

Karachi DAWN in English 7 May 83 p 1

[Text] ISLAMABAD, May 6: The provincial governments have been directed to immediately prepare schedules for holding elections to the Local Bodies in the last quarter of this year.

This was stated by Syed Fakhar Imam, Federal Minister for Local Government and Rural Development, in an interview with Radio Pakistan here today.

He said the main task in this connection, the delimitation and inclusion of multiple wards or single-constituency ward, will be at the discretion of the provincial governments.

He said a model of Local Bodies has been provided in the light of the recommendations on the report of the Local Bodies commission which will be adopted by the provinces while holding elections. The elections will be held on different dates in each province according to their own conditions.

Syed Fakher Imam said that the first term of Local Bodies is nearing completion. All the objectives set by the Government in introducing the system have been achieved, particularly the people's participation in the country's development at grassroot level.

He said it has created an awareness among the people specially in far-flung and rural areas where the development is now visible in evident form of roads, education, health and water supply sectors.

Furthermore, he maintained, the income generated by them has been more than double as against the figure of one and a half thousand million rupees four years ago.

Giving a review of the system, he said, it has created a sense of self-help and self-reliance in the nation, giving a direction to fix their own priorities in developmental activities without bureaucratic control.

It has given a framework of planning at local level and an exercise which has revolutionised the people both mentally and practically, he concluded.—PPI

CSO: 4600/617

EMBASSY ISSUES DENIAL ON BENAZIR'S ILLNESS

Karachi DAWN in English 6 May 83 p 20

[Article by Yehia Syed]

[Text]

LONDON, May 5: A spokesman for the Pakistan Embassy, denying a report in a London national newspaper, has said Miss Benazir Bhutto, "who is currently interned in her father's mansion in Karachi, is in good physical condition."

"The Daily Telegraph's" diarist, Peter Borough has reported that Benazir's complaint, "a severe infection of the ear, has become serious and is now beyond the treatment of doctors at a Karachi hospital she has been attending."

The Pakistan Embassy spokesman said: "Whenever Miss Benazir Bhutto complained of any indisposition, she was given prompt medical treatment." "Adequate medical facilities," he said, "for the treatment of ear infection are available in Karachi."

Peter Borough had said the former President of the Oxford Union, Miss Benazir Bhutto, "is now confined to a single room from which she may not make any telephone calls or receive visits from relatives."

Miss Bhutto's aunt Khanum Behjat Hariri, younger sister of Mrs Nusrat Bhutto, told 'Dawn' this morning that for the last one week Benazir's telephone — "her only

link with the outside world including her mother" — had been disconnected "for some unknown reason."

Khanum Hariri said Benazir's mother, Begum Nusrat Bhutto, was so upset at this latest development that she suffered a relapse and her doctors had changed her medication.

"Nusrat is under great stress because of Benazir with whom she can't now talk even on telephone," Khanum Hariri said. Neither Benazir's sister Sanam nor her cousin Fakhri can talk to her, she added.

Khanum Hariri described a report published in a local Urdu daily as "false and incorrect" which had said that Begum Nusrat Bhutto was expected in London by the middle of May.

"She is not coming here. By the end of May I would be taking her to south of France from Paris where she is now," Khanum Hariri said.

She confirmed that the new British TV, 'Channel 4', wanted to interview Benazir on telephone (before her telephone was disconnected) but Benazir refused to talk to the Press as she did not want to do anything to annoy the authorities.

SOUTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE: ROLES OF PAKISTAN, INDIA ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 Business Supplement pp I, IV

[Article by M. B. Naqvi]

[Text]

IF THERE IS one subject that is mentioned every few minutes in most discussions here it is that of South-South cooperation. New Delhi's air is thick with its reverberations. Having to attend a seminar on trade and economic cooperation to which businessmen and journalists from the seven subcontinental nations were invited, one was in the very midst of it.

Economic and political arguments in favour of regional cooperation in South Asia are known and one is not going to repeat them. But it must be said that apart from what was put on the record, the remarkable thing about that not-insignificant moot was the eagerness of the smaller countries like Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives and Bangladesh to see such cooperation being organised and promoted. Their ideas on economic cooperation deserve closer attention from Islamabad than appears to have been the case.

What was the most striking thing about their ideas? It was two-fold: While trade and more of it was all very well, the need they felt much more keenly was that of larger economic cooperation, especially a framework of some kind for regional planning, interdependent joint industrial ventures and all. Secondly, they put special stress on an organisational structure for the

regional cooperation.

It was easy to see what they were driving at. That makes some Indians mad. The ultimate aim of these smaller countries appears to be to lift their bilateral trade with India to conform to the norms and practices of international trade. One is not concerned with the rather glaring political overtones of this objectives. But they were, on private inquiry, desirous of putting all trade in South Asia on the plane of normal international trading that is governed by GATT rules.

For the rest, a few general observations regarding New Delhi's strong preoccupation with international economic matters — what with its proposal of asking heads of states/governments to attend this year's UN General Assembly's session in person and other initiatives — would be in order. But the Government-supported seminar on South Asian trade and economic cooperation also deserves some mention. Indeed, even more than the standard Third World stuff.

The Indian hosts, without actually transgressing the rules of treating all guests equally, paid far too much attention to Pakistanis. It often looked as if they were bending over backwards to please the Pakistanis. How Pakistanis reacted is an entirely different kettle of fish. Behind the usual suave behaviour on such occasion, one could see the hint of irritation among the Nepalese, Sri Lankans and the Bhutanese. The Pakistanis seemed especially innocent of all such nuances.

Having said that, it is also true that delegates from these smaller countries were themselves very keen to see Pakistanis play a far stronger role in South Asia's economic cooperation. It is not difficult to see that they seem to have reserved a special role for this country; it looks as if they would have Pakistan change its present stance of being cool and aloof to one of more or less eager participant, the relative weight and strength of which might serve as a kind of counterweight to India's.

But this ought not to create the other misunderstanding: that Pakistan can play a leadership role. That is farthest from the minds of responsible people in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal; they are far too anxious to evolve a framework that not merely satisfy their preoccupation with sovereign equality of all nations in South Asia but facilitates its assertion on a day-to-day basis. That would, and ought to, prevent anybody's leadership; that is the main reason why they are pushing hard for organised cooperation.

The point the seminar emphasised was the same that has emerged so strongly from all the recent confabulations among the Third World countries and which was so much highlighted by the Beijing conference on South-South cooperation: regional cooperation offers the only feasible road to the South-South cooperation. It is adjudged to be necessary on all the economic criteria that economists can reel off at a moment's notice.

However, New Delhi is embarked on initiatives of global significance. It wishes to be in the nucleus of what would be the spearhead of the effort to make the North come to some terms with the clamorous South. New Delhi these days fancies itself to be so moderate as to act as the bridge between the North and the South, if only the North would listen.

What is India's attitude toward regional cooperation in South Asia? It is enthusiastic enough, though not as much as many think. It is only too firm on maintaining the bilateral nature of the Indo-Nepalese, and Indo-Butanese trade. The recent undertones in the Indo-Lankan and Indo-Bangladesh trade too are a reminder that the Indians would not welcome too many changes that may undermine or seriously dilute its prominence or weaken bilateralism — on which it sets so much store.

The Indians are hard-headed people. They must see the concrete advantages flowing from regional cooperation. But it is not a thing that should be faulted. All others would wish to see just that and Pakistan especially so. The point is, given the resources base of these seven or more states, can production of wealth be maximised by harmonising development policies and more direct forms of cooperation and, of course, more trade in this region — without endangering all the sovereignties? Most people are now convinced that regional cooperation can do that.

GAS CRISIS DISCUSSED; OFFICIALS BLAMED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 Business Supplement pp I, IV

[Article by Shaheen Sehbai]

[Text]

THE GAS STARVED
Karachi industry will have to wait for another about 60 days before the overall situation improves, if the estimates of the two concerned organisations — Sui Gas Transmission and Karachi Gas — are correct.

But, officials of both the companies warn, much will depend on how the bulk consumers behave, especially the KESC which does not hesitate from over-drawing, whenever it is possible.

The story of the gas crisis, as one official put it, is of a small cake with too many mouths to feed. The cake, everyone knows is not likely to grow in size, yet the number of people wanting it has been increasing unchecked.

Karachi has a quota of 180 MMCF fixed from the total supply of 255 MMCF that the present system can bring to the southern region from Sui fields.

"Why have the distributors (Karachi Gas) committed themselves to sell about 240 MMCF more when they know their limitation," one senior SGTC executive asks.

Replies a KGC executive: "We do not make commitments to anyone. The Federal Government decides the allocations and we get instructions to implement the decision."

Who's right

Figures, tables, graphs, projections, estimates — paperwork of all kinds — are available in bulk with

both to prove that they are right.

In all these piles of figurework, the KESC emerges as the only villain, being the main consumer with a total gas requirement of 135 MMCF, but getting only 60 MMCF at the moment.

KGC officials say the demand of KESC has increased from 102 MMCF in 1980 to 135 MMCF this year. "We cannot stop growth of any organisation — one estimate is 7 per cent annually — but if the SGTC had kept up its original schedules, there would have been no crunch," a senior KGC official says.

According to the schedule, the Compression Projects at Dadu and Shikarpur, due to be completed in June/July, should have been ready two years ago. These compressors will enable the system to push an additional quantity of 20 MMCF per day, with the result that the immediate shortfall of almost the same quantity in Karachi will be met.

"The story of delays is a long one and there is no use repeating it," a senior SGTC executive says. He, however, admits that the charge of lack of planning and no planning at all, is valid.

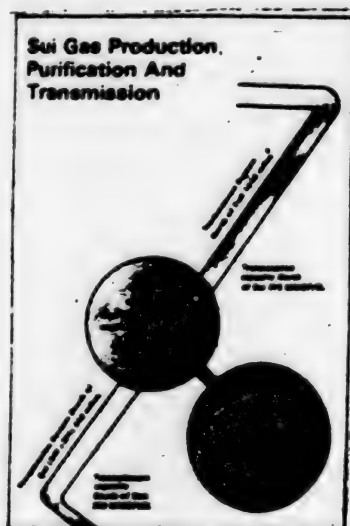
Whims

Insiders say the delays in the Pirkoh project were due mainly to personal whims of two former bosses who for reasons better known to them, did not like to hear anything about Pirkoh. "One of them would fling the Pirkoh file whenever it came upto him," one eye witness recalls. "What those actions have

cost the nation, one can only guess."

Guessing loudly about Pirkoh potential, a SGTC official said it would yield 120 MMCF of gas per day beginning with 40 MMCF in December this year, adding another 30 MMCF by June 1984 and another 50 MMCF by December next year.

But before Pirkoh comes on the line, KGC officials think the crisis would be eased a lot. Firstly in June/July 20 MMCF would be available with the Dadu/Shikarpur compressors. Then in October the KESC plans to commission its Pipri-I Power Station cutting the



gas demand by 35 MMCF. This would help us meet the demand of the industry in full.

Short reserves

But the long term outlook for gas in Pakistan does not look very bright. Contrary to the tall claims in the past, the reserves would not last for hundreds of years.

"When these hundred-year estimates were made, the total demand was much less. Now the country requires 978 MMCF of gas per day whereas the supply is only 670 MMCF. Presently the known reserves at Sui are expected to last for 15 years and those at Pirkoh for 20 years," says a SGTC official.

The main problem is of transmit-

ting the gas from the fields to consumers. "Our purification banks and lines are 27 years old, we have no standby banks and no alternate arrangements. Yet we are obtaining 97 per cent efficiency from these old installations," the SGTC says.

Projects

But several projects, with the aid of the Asian Development Bank are already on to improve the system. A new purification banks project has been approved which will remain standby, a Pirkoh-Sui pipeline, 56 km in length and 18 inches in diameter is being laid, a third pipeline from Sui to Karachi is on the cards, if new reserves are found in the area.

"The Marri field, with known reserves of four trillion cubic feet, has been taken over by the Fauji Foundation from ESSO, Oil & Gas Development Corporation is to probe why the 15 MMCF per day capacity of Suri Honda cannot be restored, and why the output has fallen to 5 MMCF.

Despite all this, the SGTC still thinks that in the long run Pakistan will have to use alternate energy sources.

A long-term energy plan has already stressed plantation of fast growing trees for wood, development of coal mines and gasification of coal, setting up of coal-based power stations — at Lakhra one of 500 MW capacity could be set up — and other sources as biogas, solar energy, etc.

Presently, officials say, gas is meeting 42 per cent of the country's total energy needs with indigenous oil meeting another 10 per cent and the rest being met by imported oil, which takes up almost 60 per cent of our foreign exchange resources.

The industrial sector, they say, takes up only 13 per cent of the total excluding the bulk consumers of fertilisers and cement.

This 13 per cent, one businessman said, is proving to be really unlucky. "We shall have either to cut it down or move it up for a better future."

PROBLEM OF 'BLACK' MONEY DISCUSSED; LEGITIMIZING METHODS DESCRIBED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 Business Supplement pp I, IV

[Article by M. Ziauddin]

[Text]

THE GOING rate of discount for converting black money into white these days, according to informed sources, is around 50 per cent. This rate is being calculated on the basis of the prevailing market price for prize bonds that win at the draws.

The current market price of a prize bond winning Rs. 100,000 at the draw is said to be as high as Rs 150,000. This fantastic revaluation of the winning prize bonds in the open market is seen as an emphatic manifestation of the growing menace of black money in the country's economy.

Using this high discount rate as a rough indicator, independent economists estimate the quantum of black money in circulation to be around 50 per cent more than the white money in circulation.

Lax rules

In the "golden era" of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, they point out, it was mostly a one-way traffic from white economy to black economy, with the accumulator sitting pretty as the market conditions and lax rules allowed him the freedom to move his holdings from white economy to black and vice versa with no trouble at all.

Moreover, since the currency movement was following the law of osmosis, the accumulator was not pressed to pay dearly for converting his small black change into

white. There was instead an abundance of white money ripe for conversion into black.

It was only when Gen Yahya Khan's Martial Law was imposed that the planners awakened to the rude fact that a big chunk of legitimate currency had slipped through the government's oily fingers, leaving it hardly anything to make both ends meet. And, therefore, in order to replenish the emptying coffers, the decision makers offered to legitimise the ill-gotten wealth at the rate of 30 per cent. The same offer was made by the next government.

Both these offers were accepted by the black money holders only to the extent of their immediate requirements. They encashed only that much which they felt they would need for their legitimate business operations. Some need for token declaration only to position themselves on the right side of the government.

The present government has so far refused to offer any kind of amnesty to the ill-gotten wealth on the ground that it would amount to condoning a crime. This appears to have forced the hands of the black money holders to purchase white money as and when they required it at as high a premium as 50 per cent.

However, while the government has adopted a principled stand, the issue itself has remained far from resolved. Instead it continues to grow in proportion and that too at a faster pace. The white economy is shrinking so fast that the government is being increasingly forced

to squeeze all the possible as well as impossible avenues to meet its growing revenue needs, thereby arresting the growth rate of savings and investment.

Three ways

There are said to be three very obvious ways of converting white money into black — tax evasion, smuggling and bribery. All these three sustain and perpetuate each other. Discussing the causative factors of tax evasion, independent taxation experts said that the entire taxation system has been so evolved as to discourage honest declarations.

As taxes and duties cannot be evaded without the connivance of officials, bribery becomes necessary. On the other hand, those officials, who have acquired the habit of living beyond their means and are always on the lookout for some easy money, willingly guide the uninitiated taxpayers through the jungle of controls and rules, robbing the government's legitimate revenue in the process, for personal gains.

Smuggled goods

The tax-free unearned income of the two — tax evader as well as the bribe taker — in turn has created a huge market for smuggled goods. And the same black money has added an artificial margin to the prices of almost everything from lands to cars and other essential and luxury goods.

This finally has been fueling inflation over the past so many years and in turn forcing tax evader and bribe taker to make more of the same on the one hand and making it increasingly difficult for the government, on the other, to meet its current expenditure and development needs without resorting to huge deficit financing and raising the tax burden beyond the genuine tax paying capacity of the tax payer.

The entire racket, according to knowledgeable sources, has been snowball for the last 20 or so years and has finally crossed the point of no return.

The very people who indulge in tax evasion accuse the policymakers of intentionally perpetuating the rules that sustain the growth of black money and blocking attempts to introduce measures aimed at controlling this menace.

Neutral observers, however, insist that the tax evaders have, over the years, turned into "hardened criminals" who would continue to indulge in the practice even if all the controls and rules were to be made flexible and financially less burdensome. They said any relaxation in the present system would be like throwing good money after bad.

Only a handful of the officials, they said, indulged in bribery and, in their opinion, it should not be difficult to identify them and get rid of them. Once this problem is controlled, the government could reduce the menace of the black money by either declaring investment amnesty for three years or by demonitising the currency notes of Rs. 100 and Rs. 10.

While the second method suggested by these experts seems harsh, the first possesses the potential of at least releasing the money blocked in the black economy for legitimate investment activity. Explaining this method in detail, these experts said that the government should not ask the source of the investment money for a duration of at least three years and there should be no ceiling on the investment amount while strict enforcement of taxation on each of these investment should start from the very first year.

Investment money

This could amount to condoning a crime. But, on the other hand, the country today is in dire need of investment money. With the launching of the Sixth Plan in July, this matter would become all the more important. As it appears to be the intention of the planners to enlarge the share of the private sector in the development efforts during the next Plan period, it becomes all the more important to facilitate the re-

lease of black money in the coffers of the private sector.

At present this black money is circulating at a very fast pace and in the process sucking in more and more white money into the black economy. Illustrating the point, knowledgeable circles said parties having no mills or bona fide offices go to textile markets in cities like Faisalabad, purchase unfinished cloth, get it refined and milled in a legitimate factory which takes such outside jobs with no questions asked. This finished material carrying fictitious brand names is then sold to wholesalers. This brings in at least about Rs. 1.2 million to each of these parties every season. And all this money, which is earned on the investment of black money, brings in more black money while the government is robbed of its legitimate taxes on such

operations.

The export rebate system which has been introduced to boost exports, has instead opened another avenue of making black money. Giving an instance of this, insiders related the story of an exporter who exported 300 stitched maxis for the fantastic amount of Rs. 700,000 to a western European country. Obviously the real value of these small number of maxis could not have been Rs 700,000. But dollars of equivalent amount were paid by the brother of the exporter and the exporter was paid by the State Bank of Pakistan the rupees equivalent, in addition he received 45 per cent of the total value as export rebate. In this process the exporter converted his black money amounting to Rs. 700,000 by first smuggling it out of the country and buying dollars which came back to him as sale pro-

ceeds and earning in the process another Rs. 300,000 of pure white money by way of rebate. Also in the process, he cheated the official departments into recording an export of Rs. 700,000 whose real worth was a couple of thousands of rupees.

Such practices can only be discouraged by attracting the hoarders of black money towards more and more legitimate investment activity. That can only be accomplished, knowledgeable circles said, by "condoning" the "crime" for at least three years. If this is not done there is all the likelihood that the Sixth Plan would suffer more seriously on the investment front than has the current Plan.

The other alternative — demonitisation — will be really harsh. But that could fit more aptly in the government's *Islah-i-Muashra* scheme of things.

CSO: 4600/619

JI ACCUSES MRD OF ATTACK ON MEETING

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 83 p 1

[Text]

PESHAWAR, April 29: Syed Manzoor Hussain General Secretary NWFP defunct Jamaat-i-Islami has accused MRD of conspiring the attack on a peaceful meeting of Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba and in this way they "accomplished their nefarious designs of creating differences among the student community" which they could not do otherwise.

In a Press statement issued on Friday Syed Manzoor Hussain said the workers of defunct Jamaat-i-Islami were not ignorant of the happenings around and were well aware of what is everybody doing.

The Jamaat leader alleged that the conspiracy of attacking peaceful gathering on April 26 on Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba was planned at the residence of a political leader and a heavy quantity of sophisticated ammunition was stored there.

Political leaders even did play with the lives of innocent students. The loss of innocent life and wounding dozens of others was on MRD leaders, who were supposed to account for it to the nation, he added.

He said "MRD had the grudge against Islam and Islamic forces in the country and it was therefore intriguing against them." It was the third attack on Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba, he maintained which had been sponsored to weaken the movement for Islamic renaissance which this organisation (Jamaat) was running in the educational institutions successfully.

This, he said, was also evident from the fact that this incident was projected on a high level through foreign media agencies with reference of names of the organisations.

It was also a demonstration of ill-will of the anti-Islamic forces in the country he concluded.—PPI

CSO: 4600/616

PORT QASIM DEVELOPMENT PLANS DESCRIBED

Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 83 p 10

[Article by H. A. Hamied]

[Text] According to the latest master plan and the revised construction schedule, the phase I of Port Qasim will now be completed by 1985-86. The work should have ended by 1983-84, but because of lack of funds the project was delayed.

The main components of this phase are:

- A multi-purpose terminal of 1,400 metres length, divided into four 200 metres berth for 25,00 dwt ships and three 2,000 metres berths for 35,000 dwt ships with all associated infrastructure, services and equipment. All the seven berths are expected to be fully operational by mid 1983.

- A special purpose Steel Mill terminal was completed in July, 1979. The causeway connecting the berth unloaders and the conveyors has been provided by Pakistan Steel.

- Channel dredging to allow for navigation of ship of 25,000 dwt in all-weather conditions and ships of 50,000 dwt in normal weather conditions at high tide.

- Navigation aids including construction of light house, leading lights and beacons and the installation of equipment.

- Associated administrative, residential and other facilities required for port operating purpose; and

- Procurement of dredger.

The Chairman of the PQA, Rear-Admiral A. Waliullah, said in an interview that 70 per cent of the work had been completed.

He said the Asian Development Bank was financing a study to determine the need for a dredger for

the PQA and two experts were arriving here on May 6. Till 1982-83, the Port was expected to dredge 3.96 million cubic metres and the total of silt dredged so far, including the initial dredging, came to 20 million cubic metres. The work had been carried out at a cost of Rs. 800 million through a contract awarded to a Dutch firm, J. P. Broekhoven.

The dredging would be established at 2 to 2.5 million cubic metres per annum costing Rs. 90 to 100 million, Rear-Admiral Waliullah said.

Land for EPZ

The major development that had taken place, the Chairman said, was allocation of 50 acres of PQA land for Export Processing Zone Authority. It had been given to a naturalised American for setting up a fertiliser plant which would produce 1.1 million tons of fertilisers for export.

Rear-Admiral Waliullah said for the project to produce 1.1 million tonnes of fertiliser, 2.3 million tonnes of raw material had to be imported by the US company, thus again the port's service would be utilised. This plant would alone occupy 50 per cent of the PQA's capacity, he said. It would be a pilot project of the EPZA to be located in the PQA area, because there was no land of that size was available to the Processing Zone.

The port had come to the rescue of the economy by offering facilities for berthing ships at a time when there was a labour problem in the KPT. If this port were not

there, the ships would have been diverted to other ports in the region, he said.

Till last week, six ships had been loaded with rice for exports to Ivory Coast, Malaysia and Iran and cotton for China; three container vessels handled 1100 containers — 700 for exports and 400 for imports. In the process, the fastest turnover of container was achieved at the port, with 23 tonnes equivalent units (TEU) handled per hour per gang and a vessel despatched to the sea in 34 hours after 772 containers were handled.

So far, the port has handled 300,000 tonnes of exports and 5,000 tonnes of imports through 154 ships, the Chairman said.

Loans

The total loan borrowed for the PQA, the Chairman said, was Rs 2,255 million, out of which Rs. 955 million were Government's own equity and the remaining Rs 1300 million from outside agencies. The debts repayment had started last year, he added.

Rear-Adm. Waliullah said that port development could not be described as an industry. Therefore, all the foreign grants should be treated as grants and not high-interest loans.

He cited the example of Japan, where ports are developed by the State, the provincial governments and local governments and the benefits are shared by all.

In the case of PQA, he said, the repayment of loans came to nearly

Rs. 100 million and without Government support it could not be done.

The chairman said railway siding from Bin Qasim to Port Qasim was being laid by the Pakistan Railways at a cost of Rs 134 million for a length of 30 miles track. The work had been slightly delayed because of the shortage of funds and escalation in prices.

In PQA, a new system was being experimented by awarding contracts to the private sector to han-

dle cargo, instead of hiring employees of its own as was the case with KPT.

Housing

Rear Admiral Waliullah said the Authority proposed to build multi-storey apartments in phase spreading over 700 acres of land for the employees, at an estimated cost of Rs. 150 million.

The master plan for the township was awaiting approval of the Government. Initially three-storeyed

580 apartments of various sizes would be built to accommodate 2,000 members of the operational staff. Later, more flats be constructed in phases.

The PQA's access road, linking the national highway to the port, was not complete and the port authorities were using the Pakistan Steel road. The 11 km road was expected to be completed in six months costing Rs 70 million, he added.

CSO: 4600/616

OVERSEAS CONSTRUCTION BOARD RECONSTITUTED

Karachi DAWN in English 6 May 83 p 16

[Text] The Federal Government has reconstituted the Overseas Construction Board responsible for overseeing the functioning of all public sector construction companies working abroad at present or set up in the future, according to an official source.

The reconstituted board is headed by Secretary, Ministry of Finance as Chairman and includes Secretary, Planning, Secretary, Economic Affairs Division, Chairman, Pakistan Banking Council, Chairman, Overseas Construction Pakistan cell, and Vice-Chairman, Export Promotion Bureau as members.

The Board is expected to ensure among other things, coordination between the construction companies working abroad (overseas construction companies) and to promote and facilitate the export of indigenous commodities and materials for use in the execution of contracts abroad.

The functions, according to the source, will be carried out through an overseas construction companies cell which will be under the administrative control of the Planning and Development Division.

The terms of reference of the Board also include as follows:

- (i) the Board will meet as and when required, but not less than once in three months to review the performance of all the overseas companies.
- (ii) all overseas companies will henceforth function under the control of the overseas construction companies cell which will implement the policies formulated by the board and will be responsible for overall supervision of the working of overseas companies.
- (iii) the chairman of the overseas construction companies cell will be the ex-officio chairman of the Board of Directors of each overseas company, and will replace the present incumbents in those appointments.
- (iv) detailed charter of duties and regulations made thereunder of the overseas construction companies cell will be prepared by its chairman and shall become effective after approval by the Board and Planning and Development Division.
- (v) the Board will formulate policies directed towards promotion of export of Pakistani construction material and other goods and suggest suitable measures for achieving this objective.

The Board, according to the source, will exercise the powers of a division of the Federal Government in respect of the functions assigned to it.—PPI.

CSO: 4600/617

MODERN AIRPORTS PLANNED FOR KARACHI, LAHORE, ISLAMABAD

Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 83 p 14

[Text]

Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad will have modern international airports operational by the end of 1986, Secretary-General, Defence and Chairman PIAC, Maj-Gen (Rtd) Rahim Khan, said here on Sunday.

He said that the Government had recently appointed Consulting Engineers to monitor reports submitted by the foreign and Pakistani consultants in respect of the design and cost of the new airports. The consultants are from Netherlands, West Germany, UK, USA, France and Australia. Reports were expected soon and after the Government approval, work on the new airports would begin.

Replying to a question, he said that the recently-created Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) would execute work on the three new airports. The financing of the airport projects would be done partly by CAA and partly through commercial financing.

The Secretary-General Defence, who met the senior CAA officials, said since its creation six months back, the CAA had undertaken a lot of improvements in respect of providing safety and navigational facilities at all airports in the country.

According to minimum possible international standards, the work

was carried out on an emergency basis and further improvements were being made.

He said construction work on Terminals I and II at the Karachi Airport was progressing satisfactorily. He said old barracks in front of the Terminal II are being demolished to construct a new car park and road upto Sharee Faisal. This will be completed in four weeks.

Replying to a question, Maj-Gen (Rtd) Rahim Khan said that the current expansion work at Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad airports would cater to air traffic requirements up to end of 1986 or early 1987. By the end of 1986, the new airports at the three big cities will be operational, he added.—PPI

APP adds:

Efforts have been stepped up by the Civil Aviation Authority to complete within stipulated period the interim expansion of the Terminals at Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad.

The Secretary-General Defence, Maj-Gen. (Rtd) M. Rahim Khan, during his periodic inspection of Terminal I and Terminal II at Karachi Airport on Saturday directed that the work should be completed within the target date.

The Secretary-General was also informed of the plan undertaken for the uplift of the Airport area.—APP

WITHDRAWAL OF DENATIONALIZATION ORDER FOR SCHOOLS URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 83 p 18

[Article by Shamsul Islam Naz]

[Text]

FAISALABAD, May 9: The Executive Committee of the District Bar Association, in its extraordinary session on Sunday, passed a resolution.

Through another resolution the committee demanded withdrawal of amendment in MLR 118 to instil a sense of security and involvement into the teachers in the country.

The resolution urged the Government not to rake up the issues well settled by an elected and representative government.

Student rallies

For the third consecutive day on Monday, students of nationalised schools staged demonstrations here.

Hundreds of students paraded roads shouting slogans demanding withdrawal of amendment in MLR 118. Having boycotted their classes; more than a hundred students, armed with sticks, gatecrashed into city Muslim High School and a few other schools, inciting students to join the demonstration. To control the situation, police resorted to a mild lathicharge.

At several other places, students and policemen played a game of hide and seek. Students of Islamia High School, Jinnah Colony, M.I. Middle School, Gulberg, and a few other schools joined their counterparts.

Old tyres were set on fire in the middle of some important roads. Temporary roadblocks, set up by them, were quickly removed by police.

Ten more teachers were arrested

on Monday under MLR 12, bringing the total number of arrests so far to 18. Among those arrested today were: Masoodul Hassan, Abdul Hameed, Mohammad Younus, Ali Mohammad, Munir Ahmad, Mohammad Sarwar, Maulvi Dost Mohammad, Mohammad Siddique, Mohammad Siddique and Gulistan Khan.

Our Correspondent adds from Hyderabad the Chairman Action Committee, Hyderabad region, Sind Nationalised School Teachers' Federation, Syed Ali Jaffer Wasti, has demanded immediate withdrawal of amendment in MLR-118 and release of all the arrested teachers and students.

Addressing a Press conference here on Monday Mr. Wasti further demanded a "judicial probe" into police excesses against teachers and students and deterrent punishment to those found guilty of highhandedness.

He disclosed that 65 per cent of the educational institutions in Sind fell in the nationalised cadre and 50,000 teachers would be adversely affected because of the proposed denationalisation. Where would these 50,000 unfortunate teachers be absorbed, he asked, adding that there was no provision for accommodating them.

He said that on the call of the PCTA and NSTF, the teachers throughout Sind would observe a protest day on Tuesday. They would also wear black armbands and hoist "black-flags" on educational institutions till further decision.

He said that as many as 600 educational institutions would be affected by the denationalisation scheme in Hyderabad region alone.

Missionary schools

APP adds:

The Secretary-General of church World Movement, Miss Nasreen Naz, on Monday appealed to President Zia-ul-Haq to set up boards for running the missionary schools and colleges.

In a Press statement, Miss Naz said for this purpose the Martial Law Order pertaining to denationalisation be amended accordingly.

She said the institutions were established by donations for the uplift of Christian community and were not the properties of churches.

The staff and students who were afraid of churches, should be given assurance in this behalf.

CSO: 4600/620

DISMAL PERFORMANCE OF COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 83 p 9

[Text]

INAUGURATING the fifth Pakistan Psychological Conference in Islamabad the other day, the Federal Education Minister spoke about a proposal for setting up counselling and guidance centres in every university. According to an agency report of the Minister's speech, these centres will provide information to students "that will help them better understand how social and economic conditions may affect their decisions regarding education and job selections". In that sense, the centres would become almost an extension of the teaching process in the universities. It has been stated that they will help the students "to understand themselves, their potentialities and their options". However, universities form the apex of the education system and the students who reach that stage have generally made their options. In any case, it would be difficult for them to chart their educational course anew if expert guidance finds them to have gone astray. Hence counselling could be more fruitful at an earlier stage when vital choices are yet to be made. In our country, matriculation is generally believed to be the threshold of higher education and students who go into colleges have the feeling of entering a wider world. Professional counselling at this stage could be more useful. It should also

be possible for parents to get the aptitude of their children scientifically tested during early adolescence. In fact, personality traits and temperament become evident quite early and the philosophy of catching them young has borne ample results in practice. In view of these observations, the idea of setting up counselling and guidance centres in universities would need to be explained in some detail. The Federal Education Minister also said that four pilot centres had already been established in four universities. It should be a worthwhile idea to monitor the performance of these experimental centres before extending the arrangement to all universities. That, apparently, is the idea. However, it may not be easy to measure the success of the pilot counselling centres in tangible terms. It also seems that the proposed centres are expected to do a lot more than provide guidance to post-graduate students. The report said that the centres would also look into "the immediate needs of various departments like training of teachers and development of laboratories and libraries". Hence, a proper assessment of the plan is not possible before it crystallises.

That some form of counselling is necessary in the context of career planning and the realisation of a student's intellectual potential is beyond

dispute. The prevailing state of our education, marked by aimlessness and pathetic decline in standards, calls for corrective measures of a fundamental nature. A built-in system of counselling with regard to aptitudes of the students and the broad manpower requirements could be an important part of the reforms. Since reference to counselling centres was made in a gathering of psychologists, one assumes that the centres would use scientific methods similar to intelligence tests to measure intellectual capabilities and professional potential of the students. This impression is strengthened by the emphasis the Minister laid on clinical psychology. He also said that departments of clinical psychology would be opened in the Punjab and Karachi Universities. But even a scientifically designed scheme for educational and vocational counselling, at whatever stage in a student's career, will bear little fruit if the educational set-up remains a shambles.

President Zia-ul-Haq himself expressed dismay at the poor performance of the country's nineteen universities when he presented the Aga Khan University Charter to Prince Karim in Karachi early this year. He said that he had sought guidance from the universities on certain issues but got no response. Another important issue is whether counselling would effectively discourage the kind of aimless higher education which leads to masters in science going into, say, banking. Some kind of manpower planning, enabling projections of sectoral requirements and job opportunities in different vocations, will also be crucial to the success of organised counselling. We do need to locate and promote whatever talent we have and also to maximise its utility in a social sense. But discovered talent will lead us nowhere without correct national policies and well-founded social institutions in which merit and performance are unreservedly honoured.

CSO: 4600/620

CABINET APPROVES MAKING OF FILM ON FREEDOM

Karachi DAWN inEnglish 10 May 83 pp 1, 16

[Article by Saghir Ahmed]

[Text]

The Federal Cabinet is understood to have approved the idea of a film on freedom struggle, focusing on the life of the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The idea was first mooted by the Federal Information Ministry.

The name of the documentary occupied the cabinet's mind considerably, and it was thought producing a film on the Quaid-e-Azam at this stage would look too much like an attempt to imitate the film "Gandhi" which has recently won the Oscar Award.

The cabinet, therefore, decided that if the canvas of the film were enlarged to accommodate the entire saga of the Muslim Freedom Movement and the struggle for Pakistan, such a movie would naturally focus on the life and achievement of the Quaid-e-Azam. The name, therefore, could be "Struggle for Pakistan" or "Struggle for a Homeland" etc.

One view was that a movie on the Quaid-e-Azam could be very dramatic provided "we were willing to depict him truly as the person that he really was." A 'sanitized' version, however, would not be dramatically as forceful and may lack the power to command international audiences.

The government also decided to find a Pakistani scholar as dedicated to and knowledgeable about the Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali

Jinnah, as Sir Richard Attenborough, Producer of "Gandhi" was to India and to Gandhi.

It is understood that the Federal Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had recently approached a British firm "SIGNET" for preparing and producing a feature film on the life and work of Quaid-e-Azam. The script of the film to be written by the experts of the firm would, however, be subject to approval by a broad-based Board consisting of federal ministers of information, law and interior including scholars, historians and media experts.

However, the format and contents of the documentary would conform to the spirit of the changed title of the proposed film viz. "Struggle for a Homeland" vis-a-vis the life and work of the Quaid-e-Azam.

The cabinet members have also been assured that unlike the documentary on "Allama Iqbal" produced locally, more professional efforts will be undertaken with the collaboration of a foreign film company to depict truly the Quaid-e-Azam as the person that he was.

Meanwhile, efforts will also be made to locate a man like Sir Richard Attenborough besides making a serious efforts for a good movie on Quaid-e-Azam or a good biography of the Quaid-e-Azam

GHEE, OIL MILL WORKERS OBSERVE TOKEN STRIKE

Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 83 p 18

[Text]

LAHORE, May 9: Workers of the vegetable ghee and oil mills throughout the country observed one-hour token strike on the appeal of the mills workers federation today.

According to a Press release of the Pakistan Vegetable Ghee and Oil Mills Workers Federation, the protest was made against the alleged "denationalisation" of ghee and oil mills. Besides peaceful demonstrations were staged at Lahore, Multan, Faisalabad, Islamabad, Sheikhupura, Karachi, Hyderabad, Noshera, Dargai, Haripur Hazara, Bhara and Quetta in the mills premises by hoisting black banners and wearing black arm bands.

Workers of five ghee and oil mills of Sheikhupura and Lahore and Ghee Corporation's head office staged demonstration in front of the head office. The demonstrating workers were carrying banners with slogans.

Mr. Gulzar Chaudhri and other office-bearers of the Federation in their address to the workers called upon the Government not to denationalise ghee mills.

They said that denationalisation would not only result in lesser earning for the Government through taxes but would also create a number of problems for the mills workers. They proposed that if the Government was committed to denationalise the mills then these should be handed over to the workers on the same terms which were being offered to the former owners.

MOVEMENT OF OIL SLICK BEING WATCHED

Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 83 p 16

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May 9: Pakistan will contact the regional organisation of Gulf States for possible assistance in case the oil slick threatens Pakistani coastal areas.

Radio Pakistan, quoting official sources, said that there is no immediate danger to Pakistan from the oil slick, which is at present 600 miles away. However, a hard-core committee has been set up to draw up a contingency plan to combat the oil pollution. The plan is expected to be finalised by May 25. After its approval by the Government, necessary equipment and other supporting facilities will be mobilised to meet any emergency.

The sources pointed out that the oil slick will take at least three months before it drifts to Pakistani coastal areas in case the wind direction turns towards Pakistan owing to monsoon currents. As such the Government is keeping itself ready to meet the situation. A strict watch is being kept on the movement of the oil slick and necessary action is being taken by concerned agencies in collaboration with the Pakistan Navy.

CSO: 4600/620

COUNTRY'S PROGRESS IN EDUCATION TERMED MARGINAL

Karachi DAWN in English 7 May 83 p 7

[Text] LAHORE, May 6: Education system in Pakistan has failed to meet the present-day requirements of society and as such only a marginal progress has been registered in terms of gross education product (GEP) as compared to other related fields of GNP.

These observations were made by the speakers at a one-day national seminar on "crisis in education and medium of instruction." The seminar was organised by the Group 83 and attended by a large number of experts from various parts of the country.

Convener of the Group 83, Mr M. Masud in his address said crisis in the field of education in Pakistan was part of general crisis. He suggested that a deadline should be set to introduce mother tongue of the areas as medium of instruction to

raise the standard of education.

In this connection it was suggested that in case of arts subject April, 1985 and in case of other subjects including Science 1990 should be declared two separate deadlines to fully prohibit the use of foreign medium in Pakistan. During the same period Urdu should be recognised as technical mother tongue for central administration and education at the high level only while natural mother tongue should invariably be adopted at all other levels.

Mr A.H. Kardar, a former minister for education, in his opening remarks said, it was generally agreed that the problem of education was posed today entirely in new terms. He observed that we had an afflicted education system which brought knowledge of words but not knowledge.

Mr Kardar who is also a former secretary of the National Commission for Cooperation with UNESCO informed the audience that the report of the UNESCO Fundamental Education Mission to Pakistan which was compiled in 1952, had defined clearly that adult education must be related to the problems which the people face in their own communities, particularly those connected with their economic problems. In the past the programmes of adult education had failed only because they were not conducted in learners' mother tongue, he added.

The meeting was presided over by Dr Hamida Khurhu. Addressing the meeting she presented a detailed paper highlighting various positive and negative factors in the socio-economic order and policy-making in Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/618

PLEA FOR CHANGING SPELLING OF 'SIND'

Karachi DAWN in English 7 May 83 p 11

[From Letters to the Editor Column]

[Text]

I would like to second the letter from Mr. A.M. Dharejo (April 29) regarding the present incorrect form of spelling of "Sind", whereas it should be officially resurrected as "Sindh". I might add that there are about undercurrents of an international movement designed to obliterate the last known vestiges of the colonial past and one of its offshoots is to reincarnate the names of the countries like Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka, Benin and Namibia and cities like Beijing and Dhaka etc and, therefore, there is obvious wisdom in removing the corruption attached to the word "Sind", by simply adding a letter 'H' at the end and with it, close this chapter on the colonial era.

Moreover, Sind as spelled presently sounds like 'Sinned' and your readers may be well aware of the way Sir Charles Napier after his victories in Sind cabled to the East India Company in London that "he has sinned" and won "Sind" in, I think, 1843.

Let us, therefore, relegate one more, and probably the last one, of the bricks of the British Raj to obsolescence and I invite the President and the Governor of Sind to be the architects of building new and solid edifice of "Sindh" as a strong pillar both of Islam and Pakistan.
MAZHAR S. KAZI
Bar-at-Law,
Karachi.

CSO: 4600/618

ZAHUR ELAHI'S ASSASSIN HANGED

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 pp 1, 4

[Text]

LAHORE, May 7: Abdul Razzaq alias Jharna, 25, the assassin of Chaudhry Zahur Elahi, was hanged in Kotlakhpat jail today after his mercy appeal was rejected by the President.

According to the Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab, the body of Abdul Razzaq was handed over to members of his family, who took it away in a truck to Bhakkar.

Jharna was awarded death sentence by a Special Military Court headed by a Brigadier, in November last and since then his clemency appeal had been lying with the President.

According to prison sources, the father of Jharna could not come to Lahore to receive the body of his

son as he was reportedly suffering from a heart disease.

Jharna had been arrested in 1981 under various Martial Law regulations etc for his involvement in the assassination of Chaudhry Zahur Elahi and, as proved by the court, he was a member of a "terrorist organisation, Al-Zulfiqar."

APP adds: It would be recalled that Chaudhry Zahur Elahi, a prominent political leader and former Federal Minister, and his driver Mohammad Nasim, were murdered when their car was attacked by Al-Zulfiqar terrorists, including Jharna, on September 25, 1981. Mr. Justice Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, former Judge of Supreme Court, and Mr. M. A. Rehman, advocate, were also injured in the assault.

CSO: 4600/618

RESENTMENT VOICED OVER WESTERN CONTROL OVER FLOW OF INFORMATION

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 p 11

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE imbalance in the international flow of information has been the cause of serious concern in the Third World for quite some time. This concern prompted UNESCO in 1976 to set up a commission to study the problems of communication. Since 1980 when this body, popularly known as the MacBride Commission, submitted its report, the debate on a new information order has been continuing with considerable intensity, with Third World Governments having thrown in their weight behind UNESCO in the face of resistance from the Western powers. That the Federal Minister of Information should also have chosen to speak about the imbalance created by the four Western news agencies which control the flow of news throughout the world is quite in the normal course of things. These agencies not only control 80 per cent of the flow of information through the torrent of 45 million words they transmit daily to 110 countries, compared with merely 200,000 words a day produced by all the Third World news agencies put together; they also project events and personalities from their own angle which can be, and

sometimes is, quite different from what objectivity and impartiality would demand. As a result what the Big Four of the news world feed to the international media can be quite tendentious. Given the immense possibilities which exist for the Western agencies to influence the minds and behaviour of people in the Third World through their control of the flow of information, it is not surprising that the MacBride report is being challenged widely in the West. For were the MacBride Commission's recommendations to be implemented in their true spirit they could undermine the near monopoly of the Western news agencies.

The Third World's move to eliminate the imbalance in the flow of information is, thus, a vital part of its struggle for emancipation from the economic and cultural domination of its erstwhile colonial masters. It is a positive development that Governments in the developing countries have begun to take note of the MacBride report and are now realising the importance of measures designed to eliminate the imbalances and disparities

in communication and its structures so that a more just and equitable order in the field of communication is established. The MacBride Commission suggests the strengthening of the basic infrastructure for the gathering and dissemination of information. This calls for the development and acquisition of technologies necessary for the transmission of news, training of mediamen and the pooling of resources on a regional basis where possible. These recommendations, if carried out, could go a long way in helping Third World media to compete with the Western news agencies. But until funds and technical resources are available the Third World will have to manage as best as it can with the infrastructure available to it.

But an important aspect of the Third World's struggle for a new information order which requires no funds is the need to balance the free flow of information internationally with the free flow of information within every country. In the industrialised countries where the concept of democratic freedom and fundamental rights is

quite developed, Press freedom is guaranteed by the constitution as well as convention. But in developing countries where Governments perceive the Press to be an instrument for promoting the powers and policies of the individual or party in office the MacBride Commission's recommendation on the freedom of speech, of the Press, of information and of assembly have much relevance. The report speaks of a new concept, that of the right to communicate, and recom-

mends that the communication needs of a society be met through the extension of specific rights such as the "right to be informed, the right to inform, the right to privacy, the right to participate in public communication". To give credibility to their claim that their struggle for a new information order is directed towards providing unbiased and objective information to the people, the Third World countries could at least make a beginning by implementing th-

ose proposals of the MacBride Commission, which are within their capacity to implement. Otherwise they would be open to the charge of obstructing free flow of information in the name of balanced flow of information. Recommendations which relate to the abolition of Press censorship or arbitrary control of information, improved status for journalists and recognition of the right to communication do not depend for their implementation on the availability of funds or the goodwill of the Western media.

CSO: 4600/618

HIGH-LEVEL INDIAN DELEGATION DUE IN JUNE

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 p 11

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May 7: A high-powered official Indian delegation, led by Foreign Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, is arriving here in the first week of June to hold talks with Pakistani officials for increasing economic cooperation between the two countries, it was learnt here.

The visit of the Indian delegation is a follow-up to the Pakistan-India Joint Commission agreement signed recently.

According to well-informed sources, the Indian team will discuss the formation of sub-

commissions on various subjects as agreed to in the pact for promoting economic and cultural relations.

The sources indicated that three sub-commissions on culture, trade and visa are likely to be set up at this stage. Moreover, if possible, plenary sessions of these sub-commissions will also be held at Secretary level.

Final meeting will be held at ministerial level at which Foreign Ministers of the two countries will lead their respective delegations.—PPI.

CSO: 4600/618

HOUSING POLICY TO BE ANNOUNCED AFTER BUDGET

Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 p 12

[Excerpt]

The national housing policy is expected to be announced sometime after the Federal Budget, Federal Industries Minister Mr. Elahi Bux Soomro, who also holds the charge of the Housing Ministry, said.

General outlines of the policy have already been determined, he said in an interview with APP adding that a sub-committee appointed by the President had also prepared its report and it will now come up before the Cabinet for final approval.

Housing sector was going to receive good attention of the government in the Sixth-Five-Year Plan, he said on return from UK yesterday.

President Zia-ul-Haq is keen to see that people are provided low cost houses, he stated.

KDA role

Mr Soomro praised the role of KDA in the low cost housing

particularly in formulating building control regulations and a planned development of the city.

He also lauded KDA's efforts in clearing the slums and making proper utilisation of the land which was so ruthlessly misused in the past.

Answering a question, the Minister said that some effective coordination was needed among the gas and power supplies and smaller industries units to save them from losses owing to energy shortages.

A decision in this behalf will be taken at Islamabad this week.

In Karachi, 700-800 units are running on gas. To save them from losses, particularly the small units, the Industries Ministry will see to it that bigger consumers give us certain amount of their gas savings he said. He hoped that gas and power shortage would be overcome by 1985.

CSO: 4600/618

BRIEFS

LEADER DENIES MEETING MINISTER--Mr. Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Chairman of the defunct Quami Mahaz-i-Azadi, has asked the components of the MRD to refrain from airing their internal differences in the public and appealed to them to forge unity for the restoration of democracy and holding general elections under the 1973 Constitution. In a statement which he distributed at a Press conference at the Karachi Press Club yesterday, he alleged that some circles had tried to spoil the image of his party. He hoped that people will frustrate all such efforts. He denied having met the Federal Petroleum Minister, Maj-Gen (retd) Rao Farman Ali, and ruled out all possibilities of joining any non-elected government. On the other hand, he said, his meeting with Pir Pagaro was a "routine affair" and part of the normal contacts and exchange of views between the politicians. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 6 May 83 p 17]

ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS IN FRG--Lahore, May 6: There are between 14,000 to 15,000 illegal Pakistani emigrants in West Germany, the FDR Ambassador Dr. Klaus Terfloth said at a meeting with the Lahore Chamber of Commerce and Industry here today. He said the Government was processing their cases and decision about their stay or otherwise in the country would be taken accordingly. Germany was opposed to entry on visa, he said, and added that visa was made obligatory only after influx of illegal emigrants. He said under the new legislation of West Germany, any foreigner was allowed to stay there only after the authorities of his country (emigrants) confirmed the genuineness of his case. At present 2.5 million people i.e., ten per cent of the total work force are jobless. More than ten thousand German companies have gone bankrupt due to the international recession, he added.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 7 May 83 p 3]

BHUTTOS EXPELLED FROM AFGHANISTAN--The Karmal Regime has announced that Mr Murtaza Bhutto and Mr Shahnawaz, the sons of former Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, have been expelled from Kabul, Voice of Germany reported last night quoting UNI. The Radio said the Kabul's action followed Pakistan Government demand to expel them. Both Mr Murtaza Bhutto and Mr Shahnawaz Bhutto had been staying in Kabul for nearly two years. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 7 May 83 p 1]

FOUR MORE PARTIES TO JOIN MRD--Sialkot, May 5: Four more prominent political parties will soon join the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD),

raising the number of parties in the MRD to 12. This was stated at a Press conference here last evening by Sheikh Bashir Ahmed, Senior Vice-President of the defunct Muslim League (Khairuddin group) and a prominent leader of the MRD. He was accompanied by Ch. Ghulam Rasul Sindhoo, Deputy Secretary-General, Punjab Muslim League; Rahet Malik and Ch. Badarul Islam Wariach, President and General Secretary, respectively, of Gujrat District Muslim League; and Ch. Shenaz Ahmed, President, City Muslim League, Sialkot. Sheikh Bashir, however, did not name the new entrants. The MRD leaders criticised the statement of NWFP Governor Lt Gen Fazle Haq in which the Governor reportedly said the other day in Peshawar that the NWFP Government wanted to settle one million Afghan refugees in the Punjab which, according to the MRD leaders, is already the most congested province of the country. They demanded immediate release of Mr Abdul Waheed Bukhari, an advocate of Sialkot, and Mufti Mohammad Shafi of Daska.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 6 May 83 p 20]

COAL RESERVES IN BALUCHISTAN--Islamabad, May 5: The International Development Association (IDA), an affiliate of World Bank, will provide seven million dollars credit to Pakistan to help finance geological survey to assess coal reserves in Duki area of Baluchistan. The Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) which will implement the project, will contribute 1.8 million dollars in the 8.8 million dollar project. The Coal Engineering Project is expected to stimulate the interest of the private coal sector to carry out development in prospective coal-bearing areas. The survey will be carried out in three phases to identify areas which warrant reconnaissance drilling. On the basis of survey, a feasibility study will be undertaken to determine the optimum coalmine location and the most likely power plant location.--PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 6 May 83 p 20]

BOOK FORFEITED--LAHORE, May 7--The Government of the Punjab has proscribed the book entitled "Faisala Keejye Kya Ye Log Musliman Hain" written by Qazi Nomanul Fatimi as it contained objectionable material intended to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of the citizens of Pakistan. Action has been taken under Section 99-A Criminal Procedure Code and all copies of the book have been forfeited to the Government. [Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 p 10]

JUI CALLS FOR DEMOCRACY--The defunct Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, Sind, (Darkhwasti group) has demanded the revival of democratic process in the country without further delay. A resolution adopted at a two-day Nizam-i-Shariat convention of the Sind JUI, which concluded on Saturday said the Government should immediately hold fair and free elections, as only an elected government can pull the country out of crisis. The decisions taken at the convention were announced by Maulana Abdul Haq at a news conference at the Karachi Press Club on Sunday. Maulana Zakaria was also present. Maulana Abdul Haq said about 2,000 delegates attended the convention which was addressed by prominent leaders, including Maulana Mohammad Abdullah Darkhwasti. [Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 83 p 14]

CIVIL LIBERTIES CONVENTION PLANNED--The National Council for Civil Liberties is organising a convention of leaders of political parties, academicians, representatives of trade unions and professional organisations during the middle of July to evolve a consensus on fundamental issues. In a detailed communication to the invitees, the council's secretary general, Mr. Nafees Siddiqui said the proposed convention would endeavour to prepare a basic document reflecting the national consensus. Some of the fundamental issues, to be discussed are restoration of fundamental human rights, supremacy of judiciary, freedom of Press and rights of women. A code of ethics for the operation of political parties will also be formulated, in addition to the goals of national economy. [Karachi DAWN in English 10 May 83 p 14]

MANUFACTURE OF FARM IMPLEMENTS--Larkana, April 29: Farm Machinery Institute of Pakistan Agricultural Research Council, Islamabad, has prepared a five-year plan from the next fiscal year to manufacture and introduce agriculture implements. This was disclosed by the Deputy Director, PARC, while presenting the address of welcome at a demonstration of crop reaper organized by the Council here. He further said that three substations of Farm Machinery Institute would be set up at Naushera, Tando Jam and Kala Shah Kakoo for this purpose. The institute has manufactured several implements already in operation in different parts of the country. A six-member team, including engineers, has come to Sind for holding such demonstration. The function was held at Rice Research Institute, Dokri, and was attended by more than 1,000 growers and zamindars. Mr Gada Hussain Mahisar, Vice President of Sind Abadgar Board, was the chief guest. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 83 p 6]

SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN FOR PRISONERS--Faisalabad, April 29: "There has been tremendous public response to our signature campaign for the release of political prisoners in the country." This was told to the DAWN here on Wednesday in an interview by Choudhry Eitzaz Ahsan, a leader of defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal. He said 4000 signatures had so far been collected in a short time, including those of 2,700 lawyers, 22 retired high court and Supreme Court judges, five former Federal Law Ministers and 32 ex-MNAs, MPAs and former Senators. A final list of political prisoners in the country, along with signatures, would be sent to Amnesty International and published by July next, Mr Ahsan said. The list, he continued, would also carry particulars of treatment and interrogations these detenus were being subjected to. "The particulars we seek," he continued, "include the date of arrest/detention, charges levelled against them, etc." He said a similar campaign had been launched some time back by Begum Mehnaz Rafi, and added that efforts were being made to coordinate with her and other organisations. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 83 p 4]

USSR TO IMPORT JEANS--Jeans, made in Pakistan, will be imported by the Soviet Union as part of the recently signed Rs 1.55 billion barter trade protocol between the two countries. Details of the agreements, made available to DAWN by official sources, reveal that five new items have been added to the list of Pakistani exports to Moscow. These include canned fruits and juices, extract of rapeseeds and rice bran (as animal feed), Basmati rice,

paints, varnishes and detergents, and jeans. Among other products the Russians will buy cotton textiles worth Rs 348 million, garments Rs 279m, cotton made-ups Rs 172m, carpets Rs 28m and leather goods Rs 54m. The agreement provides for exchange of goods worth US dollars 45 million each way, besides a loan re-payment agreement under which Pakistan will pay back loans worth Rs 381 million in shape of commodities. From Russia, Pakistan will import mostly machines but the list also includes cement, watches, refrigerators, air-conditioners and other electrical appliances, besides spare parts for the Pakistan Steel Mills and oil and gas operations. The quantity of rice to be exported by Pakistan will be decided later as the Russians have yet to determine the demand in their country. Pakistan has, however, made it clear that jeans sent to the Soviet Union will be made of Pakistani cloth and not of imported denim. This has been done to save foreign exchange on imported cloth. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 30 Apr 83 p 16]

SAINDAK COPPER PROJECT--Taftan, April 30: Pakistan has received from Canada a comprehensive report on the implementation of integrated Saindak copper project in Chagai district of Baluchistan. This was stated by the Federal Minister for Petroleum and Natural Resources, Major-General (retired) Rao Farman Ali Khan, at a news conference at Custom House, here this morning after his visit to the Saindak copper project. He said, a report from a panel set up by the Planning Commission for Saindak project has also been prepared. This report along with the viewpoint of the Resource Development Corporation would come up for consideration at the meeting of the CDWP in Quetta on May 7. He said from the CDWP the report would be referred to the ECNEC. Work on the first phase would be started as soon as it is approved by the ECNEC. He said Canada has firmly committed to meet the entire foreign exchange component of the first phase of the Saindak project which comes to five million dollars. The rupee component of an equal amount would be met by Pakistan. Earlier the minister accompanied by the Chairman, Resources Development Corporation, Rashid D. Habib, visited the site for water discovered by the Corporation with British technical assistance. [Excerpt] [Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 1 May 83 p 1]

STUDY ON HYDEL UNITS--Islamabad, May 6: A ranking study being done by foreign consultants to identify the prospective sites for the construction of big hydel stations in the country is expected to be completed by the end of the current financial year, PPI learnt here yesterday. According to indications available presently, a site at Basha on River Indus, about 100 miles upstream of the Tarbela Dam, was already being considered as one of the most advantageous sites for the construction of a big hydel station in post-Kalabagh period. Already drilling is going on at site at Basha so that an early feasibility report may be ready. The ranking study being done by foreign consultants will also identify other hydel sites. A project identification mission of the Asian Development Bank has already visited Pakistan and held talks with WAPDA Chairman and other concerned authorities regarding the details of a number of projects both in the water and power sectors in which ADB's financial assistance could be utilised.--PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 7 May 83 p 6]

CUT IN AIR FARES--A 25 per cent reduction in fares to nine European destinations has been approved by the Government under the Yield Improvement Programme (YIP). Mr F. U. Jan, General Manager of PIA for Pakistan and Chairman of the Market Clean-up Board of Pakistan (MCBP) said that special round trip fares have been allowed to Amsterdam, Athens, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Geneva, Istanbul, Paris, Rome and Zurich. The new fares are applicable to the normal economy class and not to group tours, affinity fares, and 120 days excursion fares. He said that beside reducing the fares for passengers originating from Pakistan and travelling by any airline, the additional benefits are that the validity of the tickets will be up to 120 days and inter-line travel will be allowed with one stop-over. There will be no extension in the validity of the ticket even on medical grounds, he added. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 8 May 83 p 12]

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